

Excavations at Samtavro, 2008–2009: An Interim Report

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Abstract

*The vast necropolis at Samtavro, near Tbilisi, Georgia, is accorded primacy in the archaeology of the southern Caucasus for several reasons. Covering area approximately 20 hectares it is the largest burial ground in the Caucasus. Its longevity of use is also remarkable. First utilised as a cemetery in the third millennium BC, it peaked during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, and again in the late Roman and late Antique periods. It was also intensely used, shown by the proximity of the burials, often packed closely together, and, in some cases, stratified. Finally, Samtavro was the main burial ground at Mtskheta during the Iberian Kingdom and witnessed the implantation of Christianity in the fourth century AD. Curiously, though, the burial traditions from the fourth and fifth centuries are not those usually associated with Christian burial practice elsewhere. This paper reports on the results of the first two years of renewed excavations carried out by the Georgian National Museum and The University of Melbourne.**

In recent years, the study of ancient Caucasus has benefitted from the removal of constraints imposed during the Cold War. A greater dissemination of information and a resurgence of fieldwork, often melding different traditions of archaeological research in collaborative projects, have showcased the rich and diverse heritage of the Caucasus to a wider audience.¹

* We would like to thank Professor Dr David Lordkipanidze, Director of the Georgian National Museum, for his encouragement and full support of this collaborative project. To the Georgian Patriarchate, the Mtskheta Municipality and the Georgian Ministry of Culture we express our gratitude for granting permission to carry out excavations. Our thanks also go to Dr Zurab Makharadze for overseeing the project at the administrative and governmental levels, and to David Makhatadze, Projects Manager at the Georgian National Museum, for his efficient management, especially in the early stages of the project. Our students and colleagues made the first two seasons memorable with their commitment and camaraderie: Giorgi Bedianashvili (2009), who should also be thanked for facilitating the completion of this article during the final stages; Soso Beritashvili (2008–09), Jessie Birkett-Rees (2009), Matthew Boyd (2009), Marina Budchirishvili (2008), Timothy Cavanagh (2009), Alicia Engel-field (2009), Nikoloz Chaduneli (2009), Maya Elizishvili (2008–09), Ellen Anne Gilheany (2009), Nikoloz Gobejishvili (2009), Amanda Goldfarb (2008–09), Dean Hallett (2009), Nina Ivlenkov (2008), Benjamin Izzard (2008), Leri Kereselidze (2008), Theo Kiladze (2009), Catherine Longford (2009), Rachael McMillan (2009), Peter Mayall (2009), Laura Kelly (2008), Tornike Makharadze (2008), Alexandra Michalewicz (2008–09), Lela Mikaberidze (2008–09), Salome Mikaberidze (2009), Leri Phavlenishvili (2009), Soso Papuashvili (2009); Andrew Prentice (2009), Abby Robinson (2009), Badri Sharashenidze (2008–09), Caroline Spry (2008), Andrew Spyrou (2008), Estelle Strazdnis (2009), Maka Tchkadua (2009), Xavier Vaughan (2008–09), Hong Yu Chen (2009). Finally, we wish to thank the local labourers we employed, who were very much part of our team, for their hard work and cheery disposition.

¹ The sensational discoveries at Dmanisi, Georgia, have arguably done more than any other to draw attention to the richness of the Caucasus in antiquity; among the many recent papers on Dmanisi see, for instance, Lordkipanidze *et al.* 2007. Books, volumes of collected essays and catalogues of exhibitions of archaeology in the Caucasus have embraced a wider readership. Among the recent publications, see Chataigner 1995; Miron and Orthmann 1995; Santrot 1996; Marro and Hauptmann 2000; Gambaschidze *et al.* 2001; Smith and Rubinson

Even so, the notion of the Caucasus as a borderland, a world somehow cocooned from its neighbours, still persists among historians.²

The renewed investigations at the site of Samtavro represent the first project under the umbrella scheme termed the Georgian-Australian Investigations in Archaeology (GAIA). Initiated in 2008, it is a collaborative partnership between the Georgian National Museum and The University of Melbourne. Its purpose is to address important issues such as social and political organisation, economic structures, human demography, chronology and materials analysis pertaining to ancient Georgia. In the years ahead, other sites will be investigated, including the mound site of Tchkantiskedi, about 15 km to the north-east of Samtavro, as the crow flies, which will provide an overlapping sequence, extending back into prehistory.

The Iberian Kingdom and Mtskheta

Mtskheta and its environs, or Greater Mtskheta, have a special place in the history of Georgia and the Trans-Caucasus, so a few brief words sketching its importance are necessary. When Georgia enters history, through the texts of the Graeco-Roman authors, it encompassed two regions referred to as Colchis (the littoral region) and Iberia (the inland region).³ Geographically, they encompass two drainage basins of the Greater Caucasus Range, separated by the Surami Massif, or the Likhi Range, which is by no means impermeable. The wetlands of the Colchis, whose rivers discharge into the Black Sea, was better known to the Graeco-Roman world. As the ultimate destination of the Argonauts' quest for the Golden Fleece, it was firmly embedded in its psyche through one of its oldest and most enduring myths. Iberia, on the other hand, which is part of the drier Kura-Araxes basin that opens to the Caspian, conjured a more nebulous image for the Romans, despite military incursions, initially by Pompey in 65 BC, and later diplomacy under the Principate. Caucasian Iberia was also regularly confused with the Iberia of Europe, which roughly equates to the Hispanic Peninsula. Some authors, such as Strabo (I 3: 2), attempted to link the ethnicity of the two populations by proposing that the Iberians from Caucasus came from Spain, whereas

2003; Lyonnet 2003; Badalyan and Avetisyan 2007; Kohl 2007; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008; Rubinson and Sagona 2008; Sagona and Abramishvili 2008; Smith, Badalyan and Avetisyan 2009.

² This rather isolationist approach is less prevalent in prehistory. For a welcome historical study, highlighting Iran's influence on medieval Caucasus, see Rapp 2009.

³ For a comprehensive study of the classical texts pertaining to ancient Georgia, see Braund 1994.

Appian (*Mith.* 101) provides a more balanced view, suggesting that it may also simply be a case of sharing the same name. Later, when the indigenous populations of Georgia began to record their own historical chronicles, the two regions were known as Egrisi (the western) and Kartli (the eastern), the latter term being the one that modern Georgians use to refer to themselves (Kartveli) and their language (Kartuli).⁴ Two other geographical terms reflect these different trajectories, namely Amereti (on this [the eastern] side) and Imereti (on that [western] side).

In studying the human occupation of the Caucasus both in prehistoric and historic times, we have constantly to be aware of the complex and diverse nature of the landscape. The natural pattern of mountain and foothills, high plains and river valley, upon which all distribution of human settlement or burial, and across which all movements of trade were necessarily imposed, played a significant part in shaping the course of Caucasian history. This Highland-Lowland relationship did not escape Strabo, who noted:

...in general the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus occupy barren and cramped territories, but the tribes of the Albanians (modern Kakhetia) and the Iberians...possess territory that is fertile and capable of affording an exceedingly good livelihood.⁵

He also wrote that:

...the plain of the Iberians is inhabited by people who are rather inclined to farming and to peace, and they dress after both the Armenian and Median fashion; but the major, or warlike, portion occupy the mountainous territory, living like the Scythians and the Sarmatians, of whom they are both neighbours and kinsmen.⁶

The plain of Iberia, like other depressions south of the Caucasus, are filled with deep deposits of sediment and alluvia, which were exploited for their agricultural prospects.⁷ Not only do rivers carry a considerable volume of water and silt in summer, but prolonged periods of rain have also had an impact on the landscape, with the frequent occurrence of mudflows. The site of Samtavro was subjected to these mudflows, which washed down from the nearby slopes, covering the site with considerable deposits of small

⁴ The two major sources are *The Georgian Chronicles (Kartlis Tskhovreba)*, composed around the eleventh century or later, and *The Conversion of Kartli to Christianity (Moktsevai Kartlisai)*, probably of late seventh century date. See Thomson 1996, Rapp 2003.

⁵ Strabo *Geog.* II 2.19.

⁶ Strabo *Geog.* III 3.2.

⁷ Gvozdet'skiĭ 1954–58; Tsereteli 1971.

riverine pebbles. The slopes of the mountains and foothills had a canopy of hornbeam, hazel, beech, ash and elm, whereas the high proportions of *Campanula* and other meadow herbs suggest that the landscape was only partially wooded.⁸ Although our ancient sources do not mention transhumance specifically, the rugged landscape, with its narrow valleys, must have also promoted stock-breeding as an important element in the subsistence economy, as it does today. Generally speaking, archaeological evidence has shown that sheep and goats were preferred in the basins east of the Surami Range, whereas cattle were better suited to the western lowlands of Colchis.

Whatever its ancestry, Iberia in the Caucasus developed from a political hegemony into a formidable, prosperous and well organised kingdom between ca. 300 BC and AD 580, negotiating with deft diplomacy a political course between the imperial governments of Rome and Persia (the Parthian and Sassanid Empires). Within these 900 years of power 49 kings, belonging to seven dynasties, ruled Iberia before the Sassanid kings of Persia put an end to their kingdom.⁹ The conversion to Christianity around AD 337 was a pivotal moment in the history of Iberia. During the fourth century, Georgia lacked political cohesion. A mix of independent kingdoms, it came under the influence of Sassanid Persia, which waned as ties with the Christian Byzantine Empire strengthened. As Stephen Rapp Jr has pointed out, the advent of Christianity was revolutionary for two key reasons: first, it prompted the invention of the Georgian alphabet that enabled both the transmission of Church teachings and the recording of pre-Christian traditions; second, it maintained the existing social fabric by accommodating existing Kartvelian institutions and practices.¹⁰

The Iberian Kingdom was never included in the Roman Empire, but the prospects of the occasional campaign in this outermost region fuelled the ambition of leaders and the notion of Roman imperialism.¹¹ Iberia's relationship with Persia, on the other hand, especially Sassanid Persia, appears to have been more formalised.¹² Given its geographical circumstance,

⁸ Connor (in press).

⁹ See Rapp 2003, pp. 485–487, who suggests the following sequence of dynasties: Pre-Bagratid Kings of the Kartvelians: late fourth century BC; P'arnavaziani Dynasty (or Phanabazid): 299–159 BC; P'arnavaziani/Nebrot'iani Dynasty (or 2nd Phanabazid/Nimrodid): 159–90 BC; Artaxiad Dynasty: 90 BC–AD 1; P'arnavaziani Dynasty (or 3rd Phanabazid): AD 1–189; Arshakuniani Dynasty (or Arsacid): AD 189–284; Xosro[v]iani Dynasty (or Chosroid): AD 284–580.

¹⁰ Rapp 1999.

¹¹ Braund 1994, p. 163.

¹² Rapp 2009.

open to communication highways despite the rugged terrain, it comes as no surprise that the Iberian Kingdom comprised the consolidation of a number of different ethnic groups, some of who had Anatolian as well as Trans-Caucasian elements. The greatest cultural interaction was along its southern districts, which bordered onto Armenia — Tao, Shavsheti, Klarjeti, and Javakheti — and in the Caucasus Mountains to the north, where the Svans and Ovis peoples dwelt.¹³ The ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Caucasus, both ancient and modern, is well known.¹⁴ A visitor to Hellenistic Dioscurias, a trading centre in western Georgia, for instance, would have been struck by the extraordinary multiculturalism of the city, conspicuously reflected by the many languages spoken there. Ancient authors vary in their estimates, but Pliny the Elder, quoting Timosthenes, noted that the Romans had 130 interpreters to assist them with their business activities at Dioscurias.¹⁵

Situated at the strategic confluence of the Kura (locally known as Mtkvari) River and its tributary, the Aragvi, Mtskheta was the capital of the eastern Georgian realm of Kartli. The headwaters of the Kura River are situated in the eastern Anatolian highlands, whereas those of the Aragvi are located to the north in the Caucasus Mountains. Both offer natural corridors of communication.¹⁶ Two massive strongholds defended Mtskheta: Armaztsikhe, 'the Castle of Ahura-Mazda' (Classical Harmozice) situated on Mount Bagineti, on the right bank of the Kura River, and Sarkine (Classical Seusamora), situated on the other side of the river, about 10 km from Mtskheta. Armaztsikhe is named after Armazi, the idol worshipped by the eponymous King Parnavaz. The Georgian Chronicles describes the establishment of this cult:

This same Parnavaz made a great idol named after himself. This is Armazi, because Parnavaz was called Armaz in Persian. He erected this idol Armazi at the entrance to Kartli, and from then on it was called Armazi because of the idol. And he celebrated a great feast of dedication for the idol which had been erected [25]...St Nino saw a man [Armazi] of bronze standing; attached to his body was a golden suit of chain armour, on his head a strong helmet; for eyes he had emeralds and beryls, in his hand he held a sabre glittering like lightning, and it turned in his hand. And if anyone approached, he resigned himself to death ...Furthermore, to his right was a man of gold whose name was Gatsi [89], and to his left a man of silver whose name was Gaim [90].¹⁷

¹³ Toumanoff 1963.

¹⁴ Greppin 1989.

¹⁵ Pliny, *Natural History* 6. 15.

¹⁶ Cf. Stabo *Geog* II 3. 5.

¹⁷ Thomson 1996, pp. 36, 98.

Iberia in the first century was clearly prosperous by Roman standards. Since the Hellenistic period, it could boast grand public buildings, bath-houses and well constructed private houses. Strabo clearly admired these trappings of civilisation when he wrote:

The greater part of Iberia is so well built up in respect to cities and farmsteads that their roofs are tiled and their houses as well as their market places and other public buildings are constructed with architectural skill.¹⁸

According to Strabo, Iberia was also highly stratified socially. The inhabitants, he noted, belonged to one of four groups: the élites, including the king and his kin; religious leaders; soldiers and farmers; and slaves.¹⁹ At the core of this social organisation was the family. Braund is understandably cautious in accepting these comprehensive categories, which were applied to most societies located on the borderlands of the Roman Empire.²⁰ But he does suggest that they may reflect influences from the preceding Seleucid Empire.

Samtavro

The site of Samtavro lies in the heart of the southern Caucasus, on the northern outskirts of the town of Mtskheta (41° 51' N and 44° 43' E) at an altitude of 487 m above sea level (Fig. 1). It is situated on the eastern foothills of a ridge, on the right bank of the Aragvi River. To judge from the positions of known burials, the cemetery covers approximately 20 hectares. Samtavro is the larger of two ancient cemeteries in Mtskheta, the other being Armaziskhevi, on the right bank of the Kura River, where the élite of society and their funerary gifts were buried.²¹

Samtavro attracted the attention of antiquarians well over a century ago, and has continued to be investigated ever since. Three other archaeological expeditions have been carried out at Samtavro, which we have termed Samtavro I–III, with our campaign ascribed to Samtavro IV:

Samtavro I: The Freidrich Bayern campaigns (1871–78) carried out under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute.²² Ernest Chantre, who excavated at Samtavro in 1879, followed Bayern.²³

¹⁸ Strabo *Geog.* III 1.

¹⁹ Strabo *Geog.* II 3.6.

²⁰ Braund 1994, p. 212.

²¹ Apakidze *et al.* 1958.

²² Bayern 1885 b.

²³ Chantre 1881; 1886.

Samtavro II: The joint campaigns of M. M. Ivashenko and Sandro Kalandaze expedition during the period 1938–61.²⁴

Samtavro III: The Mtskheta Institute investigations (1976–86, 2000, 2002) led by Andrea Apakhidze.²⁵

The earliest burial at Samtavro, Tomb 243, can be dated to the second millennium BC, when burial modes in the Caucasus changed to barrows (or kurgans). But the site was utilised most during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages (1600–300 BC), and during the late Roman and late Antique periods (ca. AD 100–580). Apakhidze and his team identified four types of burial architecture during the later periods, which he associated with wealth and status:²⁶ (a) the richest were cist tombs built with large stone slabs, particularly common during the fourth century; (b) also commonplace, but poorer in terms of grave goods, were tile-lined tombs used during the late Roman period; (c) less frequent, but also modest in terms of grave goods, were tombs built with rectangular, dressed stone blocks; (d) the poorest in the community were placed in earthen pits covered with a stone or tile marker.

Our excavations at Samtavro have shown that whereas these broad categories of tomb types are correct, the interpretation with regard to social organization and wealth, let alone gender, age and mortuary rites is far more nuanced than previously suggested. Moreover, the spatial positioning of the tombs, intermingled and positioned in close proximity to each other, raises issues of place, kinship and status. These and other interpretative and theoretical matters will be dealt with in detail in future papers. Our primary purpose here is to present the data collected during 2008 and 2009, focusing on aims 2 to 5 below.

The first two seasons of the Samtavro IV campaign had five broad aims:²⁷

1. *Archival*: to digitise the field records and plans from earlier campaigns, as the first stage of the preservation and study of the Samtavro records.
2. *Geomatics*: to locate the grid points from previous excavations and to geo-reference earlier plans with the overall grid of Samtavro.
3. *Archaeological Prospection*: to test the feasibility of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) at an ancient cemetery site.
4. *Excavation*: to excavate select areas within the cemetery and to expose a large building partially excavated in the 1980s.
5. *Physical Anthropology*: to initiate a detailed study of the human skeletal material.

²⁴ Ivashenko 1980; Kalandaze 1981; Sadradze 2002.

²⁵ Apakhidze 1978.

²⁶ Ivashenko 1980, pp. 208–209.

²⁷ The first two seasons ran from 1 June–21 July 2008 and 17 June–24 July 2009.

Geomatics And Archaeological Prospection

Site Grid System

From the point of view of the proposed investigations, it was important to re-establish the old site grid. This was for two reasons: firstly it enabled new excavations to continue to use the existing numbering system for trenches; and secondly, it meant that all new mapping could be added to the existing cartographic record through the use of a common map datum. The site was examined to determine whether there were any existing survey monuments from the original programmes, but none were found. Instead, several of the maps of the exposed tombs did show grid lines, so these were used to determine the coordinates of many existing tomb remains. These were then surveyed from three new instrument points, and the measurements were then used to calculate the coordinates of the new points via a least-squares adjustment of all of the angles and distances. This process provided these new survey marks with coordinates common to all the existing maps and plans.

Once the original datum had been re-established, it was then a straight forward task to determine the corners of the excavation grid for the geophysical survey and all the subsequent archaeological investigations. An arbitrary origin shift was applied to the original coordinates in order to avoid negative values.

The local datum was also connected to the global mapping datum WGS84 using static Global Positioning System (GPS) observations. This was done using a single geodetic quality receiver that acquired 8 hours of observations on two of the new survey points. The observations were processed against permanent base stations in the region via the Australian AUSPOS service, resulting in coordinates of centimetre level accuracy. All of the survey work on site is however still based on the local grid.

Map and Plan Digitization

Several large scale plans of the previous discoveries were located during an earlier visit to Mtskheta, so this expedition acquired a portable map scanner to enable digital copies of the plans to be made and used in the site information system. The scanner is a *DeskScan*, which can scan long strips of very large maps and plans and then join these into one large image file. All the existing maps were scanned and saved as uncompressed TIFF format image files in order to keep the maximum level of image detail. These were then added to the site GIS, which will be discussed later. Lower resolution copies of the maps are produced as needed for the investigations.

In addition to the maps, a program has also been commenced to scan all of the existing documentation, including the photographs, excavation reports, excavation top-plans, drawings and illustrations. The 2009 season saw the bulk of this process completed, and selected relevant information from this will be added to the Site GIS.

Geophysical Prospecting

Owing to the fact that the site was a cemetery and that there was every expectation that more tombs would be uncovered in any excavation, it was decided to undertake a geophysical exploration of the grassed area immediately to the west of the exposed section. The survey would then hopefully indicate priority areas for digging.

The most suitable instrument for a geophysical survey of a site like the cemetery at Samtavro is ground penetrating radar (GPR). In simple terms, GPR is a method of exploration that sends a series of radar pulses into the ground, and measures the time taken for a reflected signal to be received by the antenna.²⁸ The signal is affected by the structure of the soil, moisture content, buried objects and, of most relevance for cemeteries, voids within tombs. The GPR antenna sends many thousands of pulses and acquires detailed, three-dimensional information about sub-surface artefacts referenced in a time domain. The measurements are stored in the instrument, and then processed and interpreted to derive a useful result.

The corners of the original 18 × 24 m site sampling unit (an Area) were established on the ground using pegs and survey readings from the new control points. In keeping with the original naming system used during the previous investigations these are labeled using Roman numerals. The excavation squares within these each Area are then numbered from 1 to 12, based on 6 × 6 m squares. Once the corners had been marked, a series of run-lines for the ground penetrating radar were marked with string, and the GPR trolley was walked along each of these lines. This process could locate the GPR unit within each square, and therefore give the geographic position of the GPR readings. The process also ensured a complete coverage of the area of interest, and avoided the need to use other positioning systems like real-time kinematic GPS.

Andrew Spyrou from GBG Australia performed the initial analysis of the GPR data in Georgia. This interpretation of the geophysical data, which

²⁸ Conyers 2004.

showed clustering in certain areas (**Fig. 2: 1**), was used to decide which 6 m excavation squares would be excavated. **Figure 2: 2** shows one of the more successful correlations between the GPR and the excavation features.

Aerial Photography

Periodically the excavation trenches are photographed from an aerial perspective using an elevating platform mounted on a truck. These photographs give an excellent view of features in the trenches, and provide a means of rapidly creating top-plans.

Selected aerial photographs have been rectified (or corrected for perspective tilt) so as to give a true vertical perspective. These images were then traced over to generate an interpreted line drawing with some success. The main limitation in this single image approach is that although the tilt can be removed, other distortions (like the camera being able to see the side of standing stones and the trench wall) remain and do influence the final accuracy of the drawing. The images used also contain shadows, which also make the extraction of information difficult in some places. The images do, however, give a rapid overview of each trench, and a readily incorporated into the site GIS.

The Samtavro Geographic Information System

One of the most effective methods of integrating and managing all of the disparate data is to use a Geographic Information System (GIS). This additional method of information management and analysis has now become a useful tool in the interpretation of archaeological data. A GIS using ArcGIS software has been established to both manage the data being generated at Samtavro and to allow analyses of the data from a spatial perspective.

Presently the Samtavro GIS contains the scanned maps georeferenced onto the site datum, aerial photographs of the new excavation areas, the interpreted GPR imagery and links to some of the non-spatial attributes of excavated tombs. The raster versions of the historic maps have also been converted to a vector format (consisting of lines and polygons) so that, for example, information regarding orientation of tombs and skeletal material can be investigated. Eventually, the entire site data will enable analysis on various levels. The early maps were rectified onto the site datum using the original coordinate grid shown on the plans (**Figs 3–4**). The large scale GIS of Samtavro provides support and analysis for one site within the broader landscape. Other investigations have been conducted in the Mtskheta region

which have been incorporated into a smaller scale GIS.²⁹ This will facilitate the analysis of the data from Samtavro in a regional and temporal context.

Excavations: The Samtavro Cemetery

Guided by geophysics, we chose to investigate three trenches that revealed a clustering of tombs: Area 142, Square 11; Area 143, Square 12; Area 166, Squares 7 and 8 (Figs 5–7). Each of these areas was investigated in 2008 and 2009. In addition, in 2009, we turned our attention to a building in Area 118, which was partially excavated in the 1980s.

The following abbreviations have been used in the catalogue of objects from the cemetery and large building in Area 118: Art (Artefact); Ht (Height); W (Width); L (Length); Th (Thickness); WM (Wheel Made); HM (Hand Made); Diam (Diameter); RD (Rim Diameter); BD (Base Diameter); Pres (Preserved); SF (Special Find).

Area 142, Square 11 (Fig. 8)

The mottled green and yellow vegetation that covered the square provided a rough outline of modern debris located immediately below the surface. The contemporary rubbish was dumped in a right-angled trench, dug by a back hoe, most likely prepared to take the foundations of a building that was never constructed. Running from the south end of the square to its north-east corner, the dump yielded a large quantity of animal bones and scrap metal of Soviet date. A burned ashy layer superimposed the debris. At its deepest point the trench reached approximately 95 cm below the surface. The foundation pit of a telephone pole also showed up on the south section of the excavation trench.

Fortunately, this modern disturbance did not damage any of the tombs. Two tombs (Tombs 2 and 5) were excavated in 2008, and eight tombs (Tombs 9, 10, 11, 15, 20, 24, 25 and 35) in the subsequent year. The soil around the tombs was consistently grayish brown in colour [10YR 5/2] and contained a considerable quantity of pebbles, most likely washed down from the mountain slope to the west.

Tomb 2 (mature female and young male; Figs 5; 9: 1)

A rectangular, stone cist tomb, 192 × 116 cm and 70 cm deep, aligned east-west, located in the centre of the trench. Its sides were built with rough sandstone slabs set into the ground, whereas its roof was originally capped with three large stones that overlapped the uprights; the two largest were placed at

²⁹ Birkett-Rees 2009.

the western and eastern (69 × 64 cm) ends. The floor of the tomb was earthen and flat. Some time after the deceased was laid to rest, the western capstone was removed, and the long bones of the skeleton were re-arranged and clustered mostly at the western end of the tomb. The tomb was subsequently re-sealed with a number of smaller stones, most probably the broken remnants of the original capstone. A large quantity of small bones was found above the skulls and long bones, which were clustered in the northwestern corner. The skulls lay above the long bones, which were crossed; around them were four stones. The small bones of feet and hands were deposited in the southwest corner. Finds comprise two, possibly three, iron fibula, a bronze buckle, a decomposed trilobate arrowhead, and a small crown-shaped bead.

Associated grave goods

1. Grey brown sandstone with a reddened encrusted surface on the underside; natural, eroded fissures; ground into a phallic shape. L: 104 mm; W: 53 mm (Art 42; **Fig. 29: 5**).
2. Heavily corroded iron pin fragment, probably from a fibula, originally round sectioned. L: 240 mm; Diam: (at the break): 25 mm (Art 34; **Fig. 29: 6**).
3. Upper section of a trilobate iron arrowhead, corroded. L: 220 mm; W: 7 mm (Art 40; **Fig. 29: 7**).
4. Small crown-shaped head of an iron pin, made from a pinkish fine clay or soft stone; fine tool marks evident, conical shape, part of iron pin survives. Ht: 45 mm; Diam: 95 mm (Art 18; **Fig. 29: 8**).
5. Two halves of a large heavily corroded iron fibula. L: 670 mm (Art. 16; **Fig. 30: 1**).
6. Three fragments, one very small, of a badly corroded large iron fibula; one fragment has a mineralized impression of cloth with a simple open weave. L: 480 mm and 310 mm; W (largest): 150 mm; Diam: 60 mm (Art 17; **Fig. 30: 2**).
7. Bow-shaped back of a small fibula with round finials at three ends; catch survives, good condition. L of T-bar: 17 mm; Ht: 260 mm; Th of bow back: 2.5 mm (Art 15; **Fig. 30: 3**).

Tomb 5 (Juvenile and two mature males; Fig. 5; 9: 2–3)

Three rectangular stone slabs, the largest at the eastern end, capped Tomb 5 (195 × 93 cm and 65 cm deep), a cist tomb built from four sandstone slabs, located in the south-east corner of the trench. The skeletal remains revealed a specific arrangement: long bones were placed parallel to each other at the western end, with two other bones placed obliquely at their base. A very fine bronze pin with a round head was the only find.

Associated grave goods

1. Very fine bronze pin with round head, broken but mostly complete.
L: 630 mm (Art 33; **Fig. 32: 1**).

Tomb 9 (infant, but remains are too fragmentary to do osteological analysis; **Fig. 5; 10: 1, 3**)

Small, rectangular, stone cist tomb, 52 × 24 cm and 14 cm deep, situated in the northern half of the square. Its walls were built of thin, flakey sandstone; it had no capstone and yielded only a few fragmentary bones. Aligned northwest-southeast.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 10 (remains are too fragmentary to do osteological analysis; **Fig. 5; 10: 2, 3**)

Located immediately to the west of Tomb 9, this small grave was roughly square-shaped (51 × 41 cm and 16 cm deep); one side of the pit was rounded. It was sealed by two capstones that were cracked in the middle. Aligned northwest-southeast. Only a few fragmentary bones of the skeleton remained.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 11 (remains are too fragmentary to do osteological analysis; **Fig. 5; 10: 4**)

A small cluster of human bones, mostly skull fragments, in the southwest corner of the square. Appears to be a damaged shallow, earthen pit burial, about 30 × 30 cm and 10 cm deep.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 15 (remains are too fragmentary to do osteological analysis; **Fig. 5; 9: 4**)

This tomb was conspicuous because of its well-dressed, thin sandstone slabs that lined its walls, which averaged about half the thickness (ca. 8 cm) of slabs used to build most stone cists. Its size is roughly standard, measuring

184 × 114 cm and 90 cm deep, though the north-western corner was damaged by a later row of stones. Aligned northwest-southeast, it had a flat and earthen base. Curiously, the tomb had no capstones, perhaps removed when the modern trench was dug. That the top deposit within the tomb contained some of the modern trash supports this view. Careful excavation failed to yield any human bones or complete artefacts, making this the clearest and only example so far of a plundered tomb, as opposed to a burial whose contents had been re-arranged. Perhaps the tomb was cleared of its capstones and content when the modern rubbish dump was created.

Associated grave goods

1. Fragment of a bottle blown from very pale green glass, now opaque, bulbous shape with thickened rim. L: 310 mm; W: 220 mm; Rim Diam 90 mm (Art 60; Fig. 37: 1).

Tomb 20 (remains have yet to be studied; Fig. 5; II: 1–2)

This tomb was typically capped with three stone slabs — the largest at the eastern end, and the narrowest in the middle, which was broken through on the north side to enable access to the grave in antiquity. Overall, the outline of the three capstones was roughly trapezoidal. The tomb walls were formed with four stone slabs, and it measured 182 × 78 cm and 71 cm deep, making it slightly narrower than the average stone cist grave. Its orientation was pronouncedly northwest-southeast. The skeletal material within the tomb was re-arranged. Skulls and long bones were mostly at the western end and clustered. Fourteen pins, either complete or fragmentary, made up the assemblage of grave goods. All the pins, except one, had a bronze shank with a head fashioned from garnet or a vitreous paste. One artefact, no. 8, probably comprised the remains of an iron pin.

Associated grave goods

1. Very thin bronze pin with a deep red carnelian head tipped with a white glass bead; head is polished and an irregular shape; complete, though pin is decayed. L: 85 mm; W of head: 7.5 mm; Diam of pin: 2 mm (Art 167; Fig. 37: 4).
2. Pin head manufactured from red carnelian, octagonal in shape, a collar of seven bronze beads define the base; bronze pin missing. L: 14.7 mm; W: 7.8 mm (Art 198; Fig. 37: 5).

3. Bronze pin, corroded, with red carnelian bead polished to an edge on one side; incomplete. L: 40 mm; W of head: 8 mm; Diam of pin: 2 mm (Art 204; **Fig. 37: 6**).
4. Bronze pin, corroded, with a pair of beads as head; the beads were probably a blue coloured glass that has now decayed to a pearly white blue; incomplete. L: 25 mm; W across two heads: 13 mm; Diam of shaft 1.5 mm (Art 206; **Fig. 37: 7**).
5. Bronze pin, corroded, with a pair of beads (one is missing) as head; the beads were probably a blue coloured glass that has now decayed to a pearly white blue; incomplete. L: 32 mm; W of bead: 7 mm; Diam of pin 2 mm (Art 205; **Fig. 37: 8**).
6. Bronze pin fragment, thin and fine with simple round head. L: 13.3 mm; Diam 1.3 mm (Art 209; **Fig. 37: 9**).
7. Segment of a very thin bronze pin with traces of three incisions at one end, possibly near the head. L: 13.8 mm; Diam: 1.5 mm (Art 196; **Fig. 37: 10**).
8. Iron fragments, possibly belonging to a pin, with remnant head. L of head: 9 mm; L of pin 26 mm; Diam of pin: 2 mm (Art 211; **Fig. 37: 11**).
9. Very thin bronze pin, probably complete, except for missing head, corroded. L: 65 mm; Diam: 1.63 mm (Art 197; **Fig. 37: 12**).
10. Bronze pin, very thin, head missing, decayed surface. L: 43.3 mm; Diam: 1.8 mm (Art 208; **Fig. 37: 13**).
11. Bronze pin, very thin, head missing, decayed surface. L: 38.5 mm; Diam: 1.5 mm (Art 210; **Fig. 37: 14**).
12. Pointed end of a very thin bronze pin. L: 4 mm; Diam 1.2 mm (Art 160; **Fig. 37: 15**).
13. Small segment of a bronze pin, corroded. L: 15 mm; Diam: 1.3 mm (Art 207; **Fig. 37: 16**).
14. Three fragments of an iron pin with traces of mineralized fine weave cloth on one segment. L: 12, 21.5, 32 mm; Diam 2.5 mm (Art 200; **Fig. 38: 1**).

Tomb 24 (adult male; **Fig. 5; 11: 4**)

A stone cist tomb, aligned east-west, still partially embedded into the east wall of the square. The exposed length of the tomb is 139 cm, whereas the width averages 58 cm. Four slabs of sandstone were used to build the walls of the grave, but have since been broken, and sections were missing along the north side. Only one of the capstones, the western, was *in situ*; the other two had been removed. The skeleton was exposed from the pelvis down; it lay in a supine position.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 25 (adult of indeterminate sex; **Fig. 5; II: 5**)

A rectangular grave, still partly embedded into the east wall of the square, constructed from terracotta plinths (or tiles without edges) set into the ground; those along the south side are missing except for a narrow rectangular one that had fallen in. Its base is also plinth-lined. The exposed part of the tomb measured 138 × 56 cm, and 43 cm deep. The top was sealed with three equally sized stone slabs; another narrow stone was placed on the outside at the western end of the tomb against the plinth. The middle capstone was broken on the south side, presumably to allow access to the grave. Only the bone remains of two articulated feet were found inside, neatly positioned at the western end.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 35 (skeletal remains not yet analysed; **Fig. 5; II: 3**)

A stone cist tomb, the largest of its type so far excavated, measured 213 × 122 cm and 83 cm deep. The trench had to be extended in the north-east corner to expose the full length of the tomb, which was aligned east-west. The wall of the tomb was built from four large upright sandstone slabs. Three capstones sealed the grave; the middle capstone, the smallest, was moved in antiquity to enter the tomb, and it eventually fell into the grave. Three deceased were placed in the tomb extended on their back, and their skeletal remains were more or less articulated but very fragile. The assemblage comprised fragments of a bronze mirror, four iron arrowheads, an iron pin and a fragment of iron.

Associated grave goods

1. Tall, thin-walled, bottle blown from very pale blue-green glass, deep omphalos base forms a point on the interior, re-entrant rim, scar from manufacturing evident on the interior of omphalos. Ht: 120 mm; Rim Diam 25.5 mm; W of base: 44 mm (**Art 220; Fig. 42: 7**).
2. Five segments of a bronze mirror in good condition under surface corrosion, thin plate, round lip. Diam: 220 mm (**Art 176; Fig. 42: 8**).

3. Six joining glass fragments, probably belonging to a small plate; opaque matt finish on the underside, decayed on the upper, two shallow grooves on the interior. Pres Ht: 15 mm; Diam 100 mm (Art 212; **Fig. 43: 1**).
4. Fine stemmed goblet blown from very pale green glass and decorated with evenly spaced knobs across the lower body; a thin horizontal separates the neck from the body; reconstructed from joining fragments. Ht: 90 mm; Rim Diam: 64 mm; Base Diam: 50 mm (Art 213; **Fig. 43: 2**).
5. Fragments of an iron nail, with head, incomplete. L: 27.5 mm; W: 3.5 mm (Art 175; **Fig. 43: 3**).
6. Tip of an iron trilobate arrowhead, corroded. L: 14.6 mm; W: 8.9 mm (Art 202; **Fig. 43: 4**).
7. Two fragments of an iron trilobate arrowhead, incomplete and very corroded. L: 22 and 13 mm; W: 11 mm (Art 173; **Fig. 43: 5**).
8. Two fragments of an iron trilobate arrowhead, with tang, incomplete and corroded. L: 33 and 21 mm; W: 13 mm (Art 172; **Fig. 43: 6**).
9. Flat iron fragment, corroded, unknown function. L: 17 mm; W: 16 mm (Art 170; **Fig. 43: 7**).
10. Two fragments of an iron arrowhead, possibly trilobate, corroded. L: 31 mm; W: 10 mm (Art 214; **Fig. 43: 8**).
11. Two fragments of an iron trilobate arrowhead, incomplete and corroded. L: 32 and 31 mm; W: 15 mm (Art 171; **Fig. 44: 1**).

Objects found in Area 142 between the tombs

1. Area 142, Locus 19.9. Spindle whorl made from clay (5YR 7/6) with fine gritty inclusions; straight hole. L: 38 mm; Diam: 44 mm (Art 48; **Fig. 45: 1**).
2. Area 142, Locus 12.1 Green glass bead, with metal wire still *in situ*, excellent condition. L: 6 mm; Diam: 5.8 mm (Art 6; **Fig. 45: 2**).
3. Area 142, Locus 12.1 Rod of bronze (ancient?). L: 11 mm; W: 5.5 mm (Art 8; **Fig. 45: 3**).

Area 143, Square 12 (Figs 6; 12: 1; 13)

This square, at the northern end of our operations, has a heavy concentration of tombs — both the tile graves and the stone cist types. Each is oriented along an east-west axis. The topsoil has some modern debris, most notably a thin metal pipe that ran across the eastern half of the trench, but not as much as the other two squares. The conglomerate fill between the tombs had a considerable quantity of small pebbles and was occasionally distinguished with flecks of a red-brown matrix.

Tomb 1 (two adult males; one adult female; one subadult of indeterminate sex; fragmentary remains of two other individuals; **Figs 6; 12: 2; 14: 1–2**)

A trapezoidal stone cist tomb, 198 × 100/85 cm and 115 cm deep, built from four large slabs of sandstone, oriented east-west. Three large stone slabs capped the tomb. The eastern stone, the largest, was smashed through in part to provide access to the grave in antiquity; the other two stones were broken but not removed. The base of the tomb was flat and earthen. At least three individuals were originally deposited in this tomb. Then, after a period of time that is difficult to determine, their skulls and long bones were re-arranged according to a distinctive pattern — two long bones set at right angles and centred with a skull. Eight glass bottles, carefully placed in and around the skull and long bones, argue against a plundered tomb, even though some items may well have been removed when the bones were rearranged. One notable find, an antimony-plated bronze mirror, was found outside the tomb at its eastern end. Also with no context, found amongst the topsoil, was a ceramic tall-necked flask.

Associated grave goods

1. Drop-shaped bottle with short neck blown from a pale green glass, decorated with knobs of glass over the lower body, broken neck and small ring at base from attachment to manufacturing rod. Pres Ht: 680 mm; W: 310 mm; Rim Diam: 13 mm (Art 20 and 28; **Fig. 27: 1**).
2. Intact, small, drop-shaped bottle blown from a pale green glass decorated with nipples, each bearing a single tool impression, across the body; conical neck with thickened walls and rounded base. Ht: 760 mm; Rim Diam: 14 mm (Art 23; **Fig. 27: 2**).
3. Intact, small, drop-shaped bottle blown from a pale green glass decorated with nipples, each bearing a single tool impression, across the body; conical neck truncates sharply with a flat-edged lip; rounded base bears the cut marks from the artisan's rod. Ht: 705 mm; Rim Diam: 12.5 mm (Art 29; **Fig. 27: 3**).
4. Small, near complete, drop-shaped bottle blown from a pale greenish glass; conical neck, rounded base and broken lip. Ht: 550 mm; Rim Diam: 12 mm (Art 25; **Fig. 28: 1**).
5. Intact, small bottle blown from a semi-opaque colourless glass, omphalos base, lop-sided. Ht: 420–440 mm; Rim Diam: 18 mm (Art 22; **Fig. 28: 2**).
6. Intact small bottle blown from a very pale green glass, with an omphalos base and tall neck; small groove on the inner mouth; slightly lop-sided, surface has deteriorated. Ht: 590–600 mm; Rim Diam: (slightly oval in section) 210–220 mm (Art 19; **Fig. 28: 3**).

7. Intact small bottle blown from a semi-opaque, colourless glass with a sloping rim. Ht: 280–300 mm; Rim Diam: 220 mm (Art. 21; Fig. 28: 4).
8. Arched back of an iron fibula, with broken pin and visible latch; corroded. L: 310 mm; Ht: 105 mm (Art. 39; Fig. 29: 2).

Associated grave goods found outside Tomb 1

- 9–11. Three small bands of a bronze found associated with the antimony-plated mirror, bluish grey residue inside lower two sections; perhaps part of a cosmetic wand. First fragment L: 18.5 mm, Diam: 5.5 mm; Second fragment L: 27 mm, W: 12 mm; Third fragment L: 24.5 mm, Diam: 9 mm (Art 14; Fig. 27: 4–6).
12. Antimony-plated bronze mirror, reconstituted from fragments, with a slightly convex face etched with nine interlocking double semi-circles along the edge. Diam: 12.5 mm; Th: 4.5 mm (Art. 11; Fig. 28: 5).
13. Small bronze object perhaps a drop amulet or pendant, or part of a fibula; broken. L: 280 mm; W: 75 mm (Art 12; Fig. 29: 1).
14. Blue glass ball, possibly part of a decoration from a bottle or jewellery. W: 5.8 mm (Art 182; Fig. 29: 3).
- 15–24. Ten very small, tubular, black beads (possibly jet) found attached to a mirror (Art. 11) fragment, very fragile. W: 1.5 mm; Diam: 2 mm. (Art 13; Fig. 29: 4).

Tomb 6 (subadult of indeterminate sex; Figs 6; 12: 2; 14: 3)

A narrow, rectangular tile tomb, 199 × 56 cm and 45 cm deep, aligned east-west. The sides were built with 10 terracotta tiles (*tegulae*). Some of their edges, which faced outward, were chipped. Four tiles, edges facing down, provided a smooth, flat base. Five roughly shaped rectangular stones laid across the tiles, sealed the grave; another square stone marker was placed on top of these, just offset from the centre. The skeleton lay extended on its back, with the skull turned to the right and pointing east; a small pebble was in its mouth. A sample of human bone provided a calibrated date (94.5% confidence) of AD 290–320 (Wk-26162).

Associated grave goods

1. Domed head of an iron pin with round shank; corroded. L: 12.5 mm; Diam: (head): 7.5 mm (Art. 194; Fig. 32: 2).
2. Area 143 Two joining parts of an iron pin fragment, ovoid section; corroded. L: 17.5 mm; Diam: 4 mm (Art 35; Fig. 32: 3).

Tomb 16 (adult female and juvenile; **Figs 6; 15: 1–2**)

A narrow, rectangular, tile tomb, 200 × 37 cm and 40 cm deep, aligned east-west. Four juxtaposed terracotta uprights defined each of the northern and southern sides, and one tile was placed at either end. Four tiles lined the base of the tomb. With the edges of the tiles facing either the exterior or the earthen floor the interior of the tomb was smooth. Eight of the upright tiles had fallen in post-deposition, and one, irregular stone was placed on the grave as a marker, which may have been placed there at a later time, when the adjacent cist tombs were opened. The grave contained two skeletons — an adult in the supine position and a child placed on its upper right leg and pelvis. Their heads pointed east. The upper part of the adult skeleton was disarticulated, and the chest and head were both fragmentary. The collapsed tiles, lack of original stone markers and the confused nature of the skeletal material are indicative that the tomb was opened.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 23 (two adult males, one subadult of indeterminate sex; **Figs 6; 15: 3–4**)

A stone cist tomb, located in the south-west corner of the square, and aligned east-west. Rectangular in shape, 196 × 110 cm and 103 cm deep, four upright sandstone slabs defined the edge of the grave; the base was flat and earthen. Three capstones sealed the tomb after burial. Subsequently, the tomb was entered through the middle, and in the process both the central and eastern capstones were broken. The skeletal material was found in clusters — the largest concentration was in the northwestern end, with other groups in the northeast, southwest and central west parts of the grave. At the western end of the grave a partial bronze ring, a bronze buckle, an iron ring, and fragments of bronze, iron and a glass bottle were recovered. Late Bronze Age and Iron Age ceramic sherds were mixed in the back fill.

Associated grave goods

1. Two fragments of a bottle blown from clear glass, with inverted rim; decayed surface. Pres L of neck 290 mm; Rim Diam 210 mm; Pres Ht of base 40 mm; W of base: 260 mm (**Art 59; Fig. 40: 10**).
2. Bronze belt buckle, pin intact and still moves. L: 31 mm; W: 24.5 mm (**Art 127; Fig. 40: 11**).

3. Segments of bronze, perhaps the front and back plates of the end of a belt, opposite the buckle. L: 30 mm; W: 16 mm (Art 128; Fig. 40: 12–13).
3. Thin bronze fragment, with rivet (?), perhaps part of a belt. L: 15 mm; W: 16 mm (Art 129; Fig. 41: 1).
4. Three, small iron fragments, perhaps from a fibula, corroded. L of largest: 17 mm; W: 10 mm (Art 80; Fig. 41: 2).
5. Iron fragment possibly part of a fibula. L: 13 mm; W: 13 mm (Art 130; Fig. 41: 3).
6. Thin, bronze strip, corroded. L: 41 mm; Th: 3 mm. (Art 81; Fig. 41: 4).
7. Two fragments of an iron ring; badly corroded. L: 33 mm; Diam of wire: 2.5 mm (Art 168; Fig. 41: 5).
6. Very decayed and flaking iron ring; the round bezel can just be made out. W of band: 25 mm; L of bezel 22 mm; W of bezel: 16 mm (Art 82; Fig. 41: 6).

Tomb 29 (adult male; Figs 6; 16: 1–2)

A long and narrow, tile-lined tomb, 280 × 52 cm and 40 cm deep, located in the south-east corner of the square. Four edged tiles (*tegulae*) defined each of the long sides; one tile was placed at each of the western and eastern ends. The base was tile-lined. The southern upright tiles had fallen northward and were largely fragmentary. A modern pit further damaged the tomb, effectively destroying most of the lower part of the skeleton. Even so, enough of it remained to determine that the deceased was placed on his back, with head pointing east.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 30 (adult female and juvenile; Figs 6; 16: 3–4)

A long and narrow tile-lined tomb, in the eastern side of the square, measured 245 × 52 cm and 39 cm deep. Ten terracotta edged tiles defined the full length of the grave. Since the burial, some tiles, especially at the western end, had fallen in. The base comprised four tiles, with edges facing the earth. The skeleton was in a supine position, head pointing east, with hands placed on the abdomen. The remains of an infant with crushed skull extended along the left femur of the adult. A bronze ring, a bronze ear cleaner with twisted shank, and two dark beads were found next to the infant. Next to the skull was a bone hairpin with a gilded head. Radiocarbon analysis of human bone places this tomb within a calibrated time range of AD 130–330 (Wk-26163).

Associated grave goods

1. Bone pin, gold-plated round head decorated with a gadrooned design, tip missing. L: 71 mm; Head Diam: 8 mm; Shaft Diam: 4 mm (Art 141; Fig. 42: 1).
2. Bone pin, gold-plated round head decorated with a gadrooned design; shaft is collared in two places, tip missing. L: 57 mm; Head Diam: 8 mm; Shaft Diam: 3 mm (Art 159; Fig. 42: 2).
3. Elongated black bead, with a straight hole; broken in two. L: 127 mm; Diam: 5.5 mm (Art 162; Fig. 42: 3).
4. Fine bronze tool (ear cleaner?) with twisted rod; the bowl has broken off. L: 114 mm; W of bowl: 4 mm; Diam: 3 mm (Art 131; Fig. 42: 4).
5. Intact, thick, bronze ring with round section. W: 20 mm; Diam of wire 4.5 mm (Art 132; Fig. 42: 5).
6. Black polished bead, possibly jet, with drill hole to one side. Ht: 10.3 mm; Diam 12.1 mm (Art 163; Fig. 42: 6).

Tomb 32 (adult female; Figs 6; 17: 1–2)

A rectangular, tile-lined tomb (230 × 54 cm and 45 cm deep) defined by four uprights along the northern and southern sides, and one at each end. Five rough sandstone blocks were placed across the top of the grave; a gap in the line up suggests another had been removed. The base is also tile-lined. Although the edges of some of the tiles were chipped, only one tile, at the northeastern end, had fallen in, covering parts of the skeleton. The skeletal remains were clustered at the western end and revealed a particular pattern. The top layer had disarticulated bones, whereas a second layer was found beneath a fallen tile. These were long bones and they were aligned lengthwise, with one bone placed across them on the top.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 34 (adult male; Figs 6; 17: 3–4)

A rectangular, stone-cist tomb (1.69 × 0.95 m and 0.84 m deep) defined by four uprights, and roofed. Three sandstone slabs sealed the tomb, though only the western capstone was *in situ*; the other two were broken to access the tomb, and their remnants lay on the surface of the tomb. The base was flat and lined with small stones. Three groups of bones were exposed: long bones in the west, part of a skull and a long bone in the northeast corner,

the remaining skull in the southeast, and another cluster in the east. Assorted ceramic sherds of earlier periods, which were gathered up as backfill, and numerous pieces of decayed sandstone were found in the fill.

Associated grave goods

None.

Object found in Area 143 between the tombs

1. Area 143, Square 12, Locus 12.1. Bag 2, 7.7.2008 Tall-necked flask with drop-shaped body, broken handle that ran from mid-neck to shoulder, with two irregular punctures at the base; wheelmade, striated exterior with finger marks on smoothed surface, slightly concave base; some large white grit inclusions on the surface, voids and occasional fine mixed grit in the yellow red (7YR 7/4) paste; reddened (5 YR 6/8) patch from firing near the base, slurry finish. Surviving Ht: 162 mm; Base Diam: 60 (Fig. 45: 4).

Area 166, Square 7 (Figs 7; 17–19)

A dense scatter of modern glass lay immediately below the surface, occupying most of the northern half of the square, whereas the southern part comprised a dense packing of pebbles. A stump of telephone pole was situated in the southeastern corner. Scattered across the square were a number of irregular fieldstones. Below the layer of pebbles, a yellow crumbly matrix extended across the square.

Tomb 3 (adult male, adult female, subadult of indeterminate sex, juvenile and neonate; Figs 7; 20)

A large, stone cist tomb, 193 × 120 cm and 107 cm deep, aligned along a northwest-southeast axis, and sealed by three large capstones; the eastern stone, the largest, measured 133 × 96 cm and about 30 cm thick. Four sandstone slabs set into the ground defined the walls. The western capstone was found in a vertical position — it had presumably slipped back into the grave when the tomb was opened. Inside, the backfill sloped down towards the eastern end. At the base of the tombs, the skeletal material showed a purposeful re-arrangement — the clearest instance of a secondary ritual found so far. At the western end of the tomb, three long bones were placed in an open-ended square set over the pelvis. Other long bones were deliberately

positioned east of this arrangement, along the length of the tomb. Grave goods comprise two intact glass bottles and fragments of three others, and a decomposed fragment of an iron fibula.

Associated grave goods

1. Thick, base fragment of a bottle blown from colourless glass. L: 24 mm; Ht: 7 mm (Art 36; **Fig. 30: 4**).
2. Small, drop-shaped bottle blown from pale beige glass; the lip is broken and base is thickened. W: 290 mm; Ht: 510 mm; Rim Diam: 145 mm (Art. 26; **Fig. 30: 5**).
3. Fragment of a glass bottle with fluted sides, decayed, opaque surface. Pres Ht: 48 mm; W: 12 mm (Art 38; **Fig. 30: 6**).
4. Neck and rim fragment of a bottle blown from opaque colourless glass, thickened lip and irregular opening (Art 30 **Fig. 30: 7**).
5. Intact bulbous bottle blown from a beige glass, with a slightly flaring neck and square cut rim; flattened base bears the marks of the artisan's rod, whereas the neck has two pincer marks. W across the body: 550 mm; H: 970 mm; Rim Diam: 19.5 mm (Art 32 **Fig. 31: 1**).
6. Neck and base fragments of a long bottle blown from pale beige glass; the lip is thickened and the body is vertically fluted on three sides. L: 395 mm (neck) and 370 mm (base); Diam of rim: 11.5 mm (Art. 27 **Fig. 31: 2**).
7. Two body fragments of a tall bottle blown from pale beige colour; Vertically fluted on four sides. L: 580 mm; W: 19 mm (Art 24 **Fig. 31: 3**).
8. Two fragments of an iron fibula (?); one has two lobes in reasonable condition, otherwise badly corroded. L: 34 mm and 19 mm; W max: 9 mm (Art 37 **Fig. 31: 4**).

Tomb 7 (young adult female; **Figs 7; 21: 1**)

A pit burial, in the southeast corner of the trench, measured 55 × 50 cm and 16 cm deep. It had one capstone (54 × 31 cm), which was placed directly on top of the bones, causing many post-mortem breaks. The skull faced north-northeast and was placed close to a pair of long bones; rib bones and pelvis also recovered.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 8 (too few skeletal remains to be analysed; **Figs 7; 21: 2–3**)

A small tomb built from overlapping broken fragments of terracotta plinths (tiles with no edges), one of which had a perforation. It measured approximately 81 × 47 cm, and 15 cm deep, and was oriented northwest to southeast. Some of the plinth fragments were positioned upright, another, trapezoidal in shape (56.5 cm along the longest side), acted as a partial cover. That no bones were found suggests this grave was for a newborn, or it might have been a cenotaph.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 17 (too few skeletal remains to be analysed; **Figs 7; 22: 2**)

A small, stone cist tomb (110 × 50 cm and 37 cm deep) aligned along a northeast-southwest axis. Thin sandstone slabs, sloping inwards, were placed lengthwise; a single stone defined the ends. Two capstones, overlapped the uprights, and sealed the top; the base was flat and lined with pebbles. The grave was devoid of material other than a tooth and two bones.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 19 (adult female; **Figs 7; 23: 1**)

A stone cist tomb aligned northeast-southwest, measured 175 × 76 cm and 25 cm deep. Its walls comprised four upright sandstone slabs, and its roof originally comprised three capstones. The western and largest capstone had fallen into the grave. Inside, a square stone was placed at the eastern end and three narrow stones were positioned at the other end *in situ*. The fill of the tomb contained numerous fragmented bones and sherds, which had been dug up from lower levels and used as backfill. The deceased, a female, was placed on her back with left arm placed across the abdomen and right arm folded up towards her head. Most of the skeleton was articulated except for the upper and lower leg bones, which were detached; and the right foot bones were missing.

Associated grave goods

1. Small, grey, bullet-shaped object, ceramic (?) and friable. L: 24 mm; W: 11 mm (Art 120; **Fig. 37: 3**).

Tomb 21 (two adult females and one subadult of indeterminate sex; Fig. 7)

A stone cist tomb originally sealed with three capstones, which overlapped the walls. It measured 190 × 95 cm and 140 cm deep, and was aligned north-east-southwest. Two capstones — at the western and eastern end — were *in situ*, whereas the middle stone, fragments of which were found in the grave, was removed to enter the tomb. The bones were in no particular order, though the long bones were pushed up against the sides of the wall; the main part of the skull was midway along the eastern side of the tomb. Finds included fragments of a glass bottle, a large pottery sherd, possibly a grave deposit, and a fragment of a bronze earring.

Associated grave goods

- 1–2. Three small fragments from a tall, thin bottle blown from clear glass; inverted rim, rounded base, and fluted sides, decayed. Ht of base: 6 mm; W of base: 16 mm; Ht of neck: 68 mm; Rim Diam: 15 mm (Art 84 and 86; Fig. 38: 2–3).
3. Four fragments of a drop-shaped bottle blown from clear glass. Neck Diam: 10 mm; Pres Ht: 30 mm (Art 85; Fig. 38: 4).
4. The end from a bronze tool (spatula?), decayed. L: 18 mm; W: 10 mm (Art 87; Fig. 38: 5).

Area 166, Square 8 (Figs 7; 17–19)

Pebbles and broken glass sherds also lay beneath the vegetation in this square, but they did not cover as extensive an area as in Square 7. Five distinct layers were discerned in the soil deposit. From top to bottom they are: (a) topsoil; (b) a grey brown, pebbly matrix; (c) a yellow loam; (d) a compact yellow matrix speckled with white; (e) a fairly loose brown loam. The latter two deposits covered the top of the tombs, with the brown soil extending down to their base.

Tomb 4 (juvenile; Figs 7)

A trapezoidal-shaped stone cist (125 × 60 cm and 28 cm deep) orientated northwest-southeast built from sandstone slabs set upright in the ground. Three capstones, the largest located at the eastern end, sealed the tomb. Its base was earthen and flat. The grave contained only the fragmentary bones of an infant skeleton.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 12 (too few skeletal remains to be analysed; Fig. 7)

A small pit burial (15 × 18 cm and 15 cm deep) covered with a single capstone. It was located in the southwest corner of the square. Only a few bone fragments were found.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 13 (too few bone fragments to be analysed; Figs 7; 21: 4–5)

A small, rectangular, stone cist tomb orientated northwest-southeast. It measured 151 × 52 cm and 26 cm deep. The tomb was built with four upright slabs of sandstone; the stone of the eastern wall was removed. Sealed with four capstones, the two middle stones had fallen in. Its base was flat and earthen. The alignment of the tomb is east-west. Although the grave contained only a few fragmentary bones, it was well furnished with items of jewellery — stone and glass beads of various shapes and sizes, and a silver and bronze bangle. The analysis of a sample of human bone, calibrated to 95.4% confidence level, provided a date of 390–200 BC (Wk-26159).

Associated grave goods

1. Intact bronze bangle with twisted ends (the so-called Hercules knot) and decorated with an incised net pattern on the base, which is square sectioned W: 440 mm; L: 441 mm; Th: 40 mm; Wt: 5.8 gm (Art 50; Fig. 32: 4).
2. Intact silver bangle with twisted ends in the so-called Hercules knot W: 480 mm; L: 480 mm; Diam of wire: 40 mm; Wt: 6.3 gm (Art 49; Fig. 32: 5).
- 3–148. A cluster of 146 beads of various shapes, sizes and media, including glass, amber and stone: round, black jet Ht: 8 mm, Diam: 8 mm (Art 51.1); elongated cube, decayed amber, dull brown surface L: 15.1 mm; W: 10.8 mm; Ht: 9.6 mm (Art 51.42; Fig. 32: 6); elongated cube, decayed amber, dull brown surface Pres L: 12.3 mm; Pres W: 11 mm; Ht: 8.4 mm (Art 51.43; Fig. 32: 7); short barrel-shaped, decayed amber, dull brown L: 11.7 mm; W: 11 mm; Ht: 8.8 mm (Art 51.44; Fig. 32: 8); irregular, decayed amber, dull brown L: 10 mm; W: 9.1 mm; Ht: 4.9 mm (Art 51.45;

Fig. 32: 9); tubular, decayed amber, dull brown, damaged Pres L: 10.8 mm; Pres W: 8.7 mm; Pres Ht: 4.2 mm (Art 51.46; Fig. 32: 10); decayed amber, dull brown, damaged Pres L: 11.2 mm; Pres W: 9.6 mm; Pres Ht: 7.2 mm (Art 51.47; Fig. 32: 11); irregular, decayed amber, dull brown, damaged Pres L: 10.3 mm; Pres W: 9 mm; Pres Ht: 6.4 mm (Art 51.48; Fig. 32: 12); rough cube, decayed amber, dull brown L: 13.7 mm; W: 12.7 mm; Ht: 8.7 mm (Art 51.50; Fig. 32: 13); tubular, decayed amber, dull brown, L: 14 mm; W: 8.5 mm (Art 51.49; Fig. 32: 14); circular, with concave ends, black jet Ht: 6.1 mm; Diam: 8.2 mm (Art 51.4; Fig. 33: 1); round, black jet Ht: 6.2 mm, Diam: 7.7 mm (Art 51.2; Fig. 33: 2); round, black jet Ht: 8 mm, Diam: 8 mm (Art 51.1; Fig. 33: 3); circular, with concave ends, black jet Ht: 6.2 mm; Diam: 8.6 mm (Art 51.5; Fig. 33: 4); elongated hexagonal, dark red agate L: 12.3 mm; W: 4.1 mm; Th: 4.2 mm (Art 51.7; Fig. 33: 5); elongated biconical, red carnelian slightly abraded from wear L: 15.8 mm; Diam: 8 mm (Art 51.8; Fig. 33: 6); circular with concave end, red carnelian, faceted surface, concave end Ht: 4.9 mm; roughly circular, red carnelian, faceted surface, highly polished Ht: 6.3 mm; Diam: 8.6 mm (Art 51.9; Fig. 33: 7); Diam: 8 mm (Art 51.10; Fig. 33: 8); circular, banded carnelian, carved like cameo leaving white design, polished Ht: 5.3 mm; Diam: 7.2 mm (Art 51.11; Fig. 33: 9); short barrel-shaped, banded carnelian, carved like cameo leaving white design, polished Ht: 4.6 mm; Diam: 8.8 mm (Art 51.12; Fig. 33: 10); irregular disc, yellow and red carnelian, faceted surface Ht: 3.4 mm; Diam: 6.5 mm (Art 51.13; Fig. 33: 11); red carnelian, cut like a cameo in white net and dot pattern, irregular shape, faceted Ht: 5.2 mm; Diam: 7.4 mm (Art 51.14; Fig. 33: 12); disc, carnelian, faceted around edges, concave ends Ht: 3 mm; Diam: 5.6 mm (Art 51.15; Fig. 33: 13); circular, red carnelian, cut to form a white spiral line, faceted Ht: 4.2 mm; Diam: 6.2 mm (Art 51.16; Fig. 33: 14); circular, red carnelian, biconical hole, polished Ht: 3.5 mm; Diam: 5.3 mm (Art 51.17; Fig. 33: 15); round, green glass, opaque Ht: 5.6 mm; Diam: 7.3 mm (Art 51.22; Fig. 33: 16); barrel-shaped circular, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Ht: 7.3 mm; Diam: 11.4 mm (Art 51.98; Fig. 33: 17); clover-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Ht: 7.3 mm; Diam: 11.4 mm (Art 51.99; Fig. 33: 18); round, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Ht: 7.3 mm; Diam: 11.4 mm (Art 51.100; Fig. 33: 19); barrel-shaped circular, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, second angular hole Ht: 11.9 mm; Diam: 10.5 mm (Art 51.101; Fig. 33: 20); disc, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, very small hole Ht: 7.3 mm; Diam: 12.7 mm (Art 51.102; Fig. 33: 21); round, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, polished

in parts with cut marks on one side Ht: 9 mm; Diam: 9.9 mm (Art 51.103; **Fig. 33: 22**); round, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Ht: 9.3 mm; Diam: 11.8 mm (Art 51.104; **Fig. 33: 23**); round, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, flattened at ends and very small hole Ht: 8.7 mm; Diam: 9.4 mm (Art 51.105; **Fig. 33: 24**); irregular barrel-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, traces of a polished surface, irregularly drilled hole Ht: 5.5–11 mm; Diam: 11.9–13 mm (Art 51.106; **Fig. 33: 25**); domed top and bottom, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, Ht: 8.6 mm; Diam: 11.6–12.8 mm (Art 51.107; **Fig. 33: 26**); irregular shape, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, sloping hole L: 7.1 mm; W: 6.7 mm; Ht: 3.6 mm (Art 51.108; **Fig. 33: 27**); barrel-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, very small hole Ht: 7.7 mm; Diam: 11.9 mm (Art 51.109; **Fig. 33: 28**); irregular barrel-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, very small hole Ht: 8.1 mm; Diam 10.4 mm (Art 51.110; **Fig. 33: 29**); irregular barrel-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white, very small hole L: 9.9 mm; W: 9.2 mm; Ht: 7.3 (Art 51.111; **Fig. 34: 1**); irregular tooth-shaped, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white L: 6.1 mm; W: 9.2 mm; W: 5.6 (Art 51.112; **Fig. 34: 2**); short barrel-shaped, soft white stone, very small hole Ht: 6.1 mm; Diam: 8 mm (Art 51.113; **Fig. 34: 3**); very decayed, soft white stone Pres Ht: 7.2 mm; Pres Diam: 9.1 mm (Art 51.114; **Fig. 34: 4**); round, soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Ht: 7.1 mm; Diam: 8.8 (Art 51.115; **Fig. 34: 5**); 29 beads of roughly similar barrel-shape soft chalky stone, pinkish-white Aver Ht: 4.7 mm; Aver Diam: 7.2 mm (Art 51.116–51.145; **Fig. 34: 6–34**); round glass Ht: 4.6 mm; Diam: 3.7 mm (Art 51.3; **Fig. 34: 35**); round, dark blue glass Ht: 5.1 mm; Diam: 5.9 mm (Art 51.6; **Fig. 34: 36**); tubular, blue glass, with white spiral bands L: 11.2 mm; Diam: 7.6 mm (Art 51.18; **Fig. 35: 1**); long hexagonal, blue glass with decayed surface L: 10.8 mm; Diam: 6.3 mm (Art 51.19; **Fig. 35: 2**); bottle-shaped, very pale green, slight rim damage Ht 11.3 mm; Base Diam: 8.3 mm (Art 51.20; **Fig. 35: 3**); biconical, green glass, opaque and decayed L: 11.6 mm; Diam: 6.6 mm (Art 51.21; **Fig. 35: 4**); round, green glass, opaque Ht: 5.7 mm; Diam: 7.4 mm (Art 51.22; **Fig. 35: 5**); round, green glass, opaque Ht: 6 mm; Diam: 8.2 mm (Art 51.23; **Fig. 35: 6**); round, blue glass, damaged Pres Ht: 4.6 mm; Diam: 5.7 mm (Art 51.24; **Fig. 35: 7**); round, very dark blue glass, decayed Ht: 4.18 mm; Diam: 5.8 mm (Art 51.25; **Fig. 35: 8**); round, dark blue glass Ht: 2.7 mm; Diam: 4.8 mm (Art 51.26; **Fig. 35: 9**); round, dark blue glass, decayed Ht: 3.4 mm; Diam: 5.2 mm (Art 51.27; **Fig. 35: 10**); round, dark blue glass, decayed Ht: 3.3 mm; Diam: 4.7 mm (Art 51.28; **Fig. 35: 11**); disc,

dark blue glass Ht: 3.2 mm; Diam: 11.1 mm (Art 51.29; Fig. 35: 12); round, blue glass, broken Ht: 5.5 mm; Diam: 6.3 mm (Art 51.30; Fig. 35: 13); biconical, blue glass L: 11.6 mm; Diam: 5.1 mm (Art 51.31; Fig. 35: 14); circular, green glass, opaque Ht: 6 mm; Diam: 7.3 mm (Art 51.32; Fig. 35: 15); round, blue glass, decayed Ht: 4.5 mm; Diam: 6 mm (Art 51.33; Fig. 35: 16); round, blue glass, decayed Ht: 6.1 mm; Diam: 5.6 mm (Art 51.34; Fig. 35: 17); small disc, mid-blue glass, opaque Ht: 2.2 mm; Diam: 4.3 mm (Art 51.35; Fig. 35: 18); round, decayed glass Ht: 4.7 mm; Diam: 5.1 mm (Art 51.36; Fig. 35: 19); round, blue glass Ht: 5.3 mm; Diam: 6.3 mm (Art 51.37; Fig. 35: 20); biconical, red glass, decayed L: 7.2 mm; Diam: 5.6 mm (Art 51.38; Fig. 35: 21); round, blue glass Ht: 5.2 mm; Diam: 6 mm (Art 51.39; Fig. 35: 22); round, blue glass Ht: 4.5 mm; Diam: 5.3 mm (Art 51.40; Fig. 35: 23); round, blue glass, minor damage Ht: 5.9 mm; Diam: 6 mm (Art 51.41; Fig. 35: 24); round, blue glass, decayed Ht: 3.1 mm; Diam: 5 mm (Art 51.92; Fig. 35: 25); round, blue glass Ht: 5.5 mm; Diam: 5.5 mm (Art 51.93; Fig. 35: 26); round, blue glass, decayed Ht: 2.9 mm; Diam: 4.8 mm (Art 51.94; Fig. 35: 27); four small disc beads, blue glass, decayed, one has offset hole Aver Ht: 3 mm; Aver Diam: 4.6 mm (Art 51.95–51.97; Fig. 35: 28–30); barrel-shape blue glass bead and thread Ht: 5.0 mm; Diam: 5.7 mm (Art 51.116–51.146; Fig. 35: 31); 42 almost identical, small cube, blue glass Aver L: 4.3 mm Aver W: 3.6 mm (Art 51.82–51.85 Fig. 36: 1–4; Art 51.81 Fig. 36: 5; Art 51.91 Fig. 36: 6; Art 51.56 Fig. 36: 7; Art 51.86–51.90 Fig. 36: 8–12; Art 51.51–51.52 Fig. 36: 13–14; Art 51.57–51.59 Fig. 33: 15–17; Art 51.63–51.65 Fig. 33: 18–20; Art 51.55 Fig. 33: 21; Art 51.66–51.71 Fig. 36: 22–27; Art 51.52 Fig. 36: 28; Art 51.72–51.75 Fig. 36: 29–33; Art 51.96 Fig. 36: 34; Art 51.60 Fig. 36: 35; Art 51.54 Fig. 36: 36; Art 51.61–51.62 Fig. 36: 37–38; Art 51.77–51.80 Fig. 36: 39–42).

Tomb 14 (too few skeletal remains to be analysed; Figs 7; 22: 1)

A small, rectangular, stone cist tomb (101 × 53 cm and 30 cm deep) orientated east-west. Four uprights of sandstone originally held up two capstones, one was *in situ*. The western end of the tomb was damaged, with both the western capstone and upright missing. The tomb was empty except for a few skull fragments.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 18 (adult female and subadult of indeterminate sex; **Figs 7; 22: 4**)

Located in the northeast corner of the square this terracotta tile-line burial (210 × 51 cm and 48 cm deep) is distinguished by larger than average tiles; their dimensions averaged 65 × 51 cm. Three tiles were juxtaposed along both lengths of the tomb, and one was placed at both ends. A few of the tiles had fallen in. The base of the grave was lined with three tiles. Three large capstones sealed the tomb; the eastern capstone was the largest and also broken. Around the outside of the tomb, the soil was very pebbly. Two skeletons were found in the grave: an adult extended on her back with head pointing to the east, and a child placed to the right of the adult. A number of ceramic sherds were found in the grave, but these and the obsidian flakes and fragments of wattle-and daub entered the grave as part of the back fill.

Associated grave goods

1. Iron blade much corroded. L: 555 mm; W: 517 mm (Art 88; **Fig. 37: 2**).

Tomb 22 (three females, two subadults of indeterminate sex, one juvenile; **Fig. 7**)

A large, stone cist tomb (197 × 87 cm and 153 cm deep) orientated north-west-southeast. Sandstones slabs defined the four sides. Three capstones originally sealed the tomb, of which only the eastern one was *in situ*. Three smaller stones segments of the original capstones covered the western end, placed there after the tomb was opened. The skeletal material was clustered in southwest and southeast corners of the grave. On the whole, the bones were fragile and deteriorated. The content of the tomb comprised a number of glass bottles, pin-heads, and iron fragments. Two samples of human bone were submitted for radiocarbon analysis. One yielded a calibrated date of AD 390–540 (Wk-26160), whereas the other was AD 420–560 (Wk-26161). Both readings are at 95.4% confidence levels (**Fig. 60**).

Associated grave goods

1. Intact narrow bottle blown from glass decorated with fluting on four sides, small fragment of residue glass attached to base from manufacturing rod. Ht: 113 mm; Rim Diam: 13 mm (Art 98; **Fig. 38: 6**).
2. Four fragments of narrow bottle blown from clear glass decorated with fluting on four sides, decayed surface. L of neck: 42 mm; Ht of base: 37 mm; Rim Diam: 17 mm (Art 101; **Fig. 38: 7**).

3. Two fragments of a bottle blown from clear glass decorated with fluting on four sides, decayed surface. L of neck: 24.8 mm; Ht of base: 38 mm; Rim Diam: 18 mm (Art 103; **Fig. 38: 8**).
4. Two fragments of narrow bottle blown from clear glass decorated with fluting on four sides, decayed surface. Pres Ht: 102 mm; Rim Diam: 13 mm (Art 100; **Fig. 39: 1**).
5. Two fragments of an iron fibula bow with corroded hinge. L: 27.8 mm; W: 11.2 mm (Art 115 and 116; **Fig. 39: 2–3**).
6. Fragments of a bottle blown from clear glass, with rounded rim and slight omphalos base. Ht: 6.1 mm; Rim Diam: 14.5 mm (Art 104; **Fig. 39: 4**).
7. Intact drop-shaped narrow bottle blown from clear glass; slight depression at the juncture between neck and shoulder, and a manufacturing scar at the base. L: 153 mm; Rim Diam: 15.5 mm (Art 97; **Fig. 39: 5**).
8. Intact drop-shaped narrow bottle blown from very pale green glass; slight depression at the juncture between neck and shoulder, and a manufacturing scar at the base. L: 185 mm; Rim Diam: 17 mm (Art 99; **Fig. 39: 6**).
9. Rim fragment of small glass bottle; decayed surface. Pres Ht: 5.5 mm; Rim Diam: 15 mm (Art 118; **Fig. 39: 7**).
10. Two fragments, rim and omphalos base, of a very thin glass bottle, colourless though now opalescent. Pres H of neck: 10 mm; Pres Ht of base: 4 mm; Rim Diam: 19 mm (Art 102; **Fig. 39: 8**).
11. Two fragments of a bone pin, round head and polished surface. L: 27 and 78 mm; W of head: 13 mm (Art 106; **Fig. 40: 1**).
12. Five, very thin bronze pin fragments. L: 65 mm; Diam 1.5 mm (Art 108; **Fig. 40: 2**).
13. Pin head, pomegranate-shaped, made from a soft pinkish-white chalky stone, with three drill holes, attached to a bronze pin. L: 17 mm; W of bead: 7.8 mm (Art 105; **Fig. 40: 3**).
14. Pin head, pomegranate-shaped, made from a soft pinkish-white chalky stone, with three drill holes, attached to a bronze pin. L: 21 mm; Diam: 10 mm (Art 111; **Fig. 40: 4**).
15. Pin head, conical facettted bead with eight sides, with a middle band of unknown material; original colour was probably blue; bronze pin with crimp. L: 309 mm; Bead Diam: 8.4 mm (Art 112; **Fig. 40: 5**).
16. Pin head, fluted yellow glass head, decayed, attached to a bronze pin. L: 32 mm; W: 7 mm (Art 107; **Fig. 40: 6**).
17. Pin head, ogival-shaped, decayed yellow glass; attached to a bronze pin. L: 23 mm; Diam. of bead: 122 mm; Diam. of pin: 1.6 mm (Art 113; **Fig. 40: 7**).

18. Flat iron disc (boss?) with nail through the middle; damaged. L: 19 mm; Th of disc: 1.3 mm (Art 114; **Fig. 40: 8**).
19. Green glass bead with a straight hole. L: 5 mm; Diam: 6 mm (Art 110; **Fig. 40: 9**).

Tomb 26 (too few skeletal remains to be analysed; **Figs 7; 23: 2**)

A small pit tomb (ca. 30 × 20 cm and 22 cm deep) located in the south-east corner of the square. It was aligned northwest-southeast. It was capped with a stone and a fragment of a plinth. Five small fragments of human bone and a handful of sherds, brought in as backfill, were found in the sandy loam of the tomb.

Associated grave goods

None.

Tomb 27 (adult male, juvenile, and adult of indeterminate sex; **Figs 7; 23: 3**)

Orientated on a clear northwest-southeast axis, this large, stone cist tomb (192 × 90 cm and 90 cm deep) was originally sealed with three sandstone slabs, which overlapped the uprights. The western capstone had been removed; the central one remained intact, whereas the eastern stone was cracked in one corner. The base of the tomb was flat and earthen. The grave was almost full of soil, unlike similar tombs that were backfilled to about three-quarters of its volume. A large amount of pebbles (5-10 cm) and a few glass fragments were found in the fill. The bones, especially long bones, were clustered in the northwestern corner.

Associated grave goods

1. Pin head of very soft chalky, aqua-coloured, material (core of a frit bead?) with traces of a dark brown vitreous coating a pale greenish grey glaze; five small gold balls form a collar fitted around an iron pin. L: 20 mm; Diam: 8 mm (Art 67; **Fig. 38: 6**).

Tomb 28 (two adult males, one subadult of indeterminate sex, one juvenile; **Figs 7; 23: 4**)

A stone cist tomb (197 × 100 cm and 116 cm deep) aligned along a northwest-southeast axis. The walls were built with four upright sandstone slabs that were sealed with three capstones. The capstones at either end were intact, whereas the middle stone, the narrowest, had been broken to enter the tomb. Its base was earthen and flat. Most of the long bones were concentrated in the northwestern corner together with an intact glass bottle.

Associated grave goods

1. Bone pin with a biconical hole through a swelling; incomplete. L: 33 mm; W: 11 mm (Art 178; Fig. 41: 7).
2. Small, near complete, drop-shaped bottle, blown from very pale green glass, hole in base and residue glass from manufacturing. Ht: 55 mm; Rim Diam: 16 mm; Base Diam: 10 mm (Art 61; Fig. 41: 8).
3. Hob nail with dome top; corroded. W: 20 mm; L: 21 mm (Art 66; Fig. 41: 9).
4. Iron fibula bar with hinge, very corroded. L: 34 mm; W: 7 mm; Ht: 21 mm; (Art 65; Fig. 41: 10).

Tomb 31 (skeletal remains yet to be analysed; Figs 7; 23: 5)

A small, circular, pit burial (ca. 50 cm in diameter and 10 cm deep) sealed by a capstone. Long bones and skull fragments of an infant were found beneath the stone. Marker stones were placed beneath the skeleton. An ovoid stone found directly beneath the infant's remains was conspicuous.

Associated grave goods

None

Tomb 33 (adult male, juvenile; Figs 7; 23: 6)

Another pit burial located, approximately circular (ca. 50 cm in diameter), in the southeast corner of the trench. Ribs and long bones were squeezed in to fit the pit.

Associated grave goods

None.

Objects found in Area 166 between the tombs

1. Area 166, Square 7, Locus 7.2 Natural sandstone with white quartz seam perhaps ground into a phallic shape. L: 111 mm; W: 52 mm (Art 41; Fig. 42: 5).
2. Area 166, Square 7, Locus 8.4 Oblong, river worn, pale brown sandstone used as a grinder and possibly a pestle; the surface bears a number of chips, including minor pits in a row that are indicative of use as a hammer. L: 231 mm; W: 75 mm (Art 47).

Area 118

In addition to the Areas 142, 143 and 166, investigations were carried out in Area 118, primarily with a view to excavate fully a large building (see below) that had been partially exposed some twenty years ago. Area 118 and its adjacent squares now form part of a visitor centre. They contain many exposed, but not necessarily excavated stone cist tombs, protected under a shelter constructed in 1984–85. In 2009, we cleared the area of weeds and debris as part of the site maintenance. Whilst cleaning Tomb 501, excavated in 1979, we found one of our most eye-catching pieces so far — a gold ring with a garnet setting. The ring is published here with the other grave goods. We also decided to excavate Tomb 417, which was partly damaged and in danger of collapse. For the sake of consistency we have also included here, Tomb 36, a clay sarcophagus, which cut into the floor of the large building. Its context will be described below.

Tomb 36 (skeletal remains not yet analysed; **Fig. 24: 1–2**)

Area 118, Locus 6.13. A clay sarcophagus, measuring 197 × 91 × 60 cm, oriented east-west; its north side was damaged by the construction of a stone cist tomb. The walls of the sarcophagus were convex and its base was flat. A rope design, executed in relief, decorated the widest point on the exterior. Its lid was fragmented, and found mostly within the sarcophagus. A band of tile fragments encircled the sarcophagus. The skeletal remains were jumbled, and many bones were missing. The gold ring was found at the western end.

Associated grave goods

1. Gold ring, probably an alloy; flat bezel fitted with a polished dome garnet flanked with heart shaped inlays. Diam: 20 mm; Wt: 2.1 gm (Art 195; **Fig. 44: 2**).

Tomb 417 (skeletal remains not yet analysed; **Fig. 24: 3**)

Stone cist tomb (169 × 113 cm and 38 cm deep) oriented east-west. Constructed from sandstone upright slabs and three capstones. The western end of the tomb was damaged and open. The bones were very fragile, and the skull and long bones were positioned at the western end.

Associated grave goods

1. Small, narrow, drop-shaped bottle blown from glass, now opaque, with broken rim. Ht: 66 mm; Rim Diam: 13 mm (Art 94; **Fig. 46: 7**).

Tomb 501 (Fig. 24: 4)

Excavated in 1979, this tomb is of the stone cist type, with an east west alignment. Its walls were built of four sandstone slabs, and measured 205 × 150 cm and 50 cm deep. A flat stone was positioned at the western end of the tomb. During the cleaning of the tomb in 2009, the gold ring (Art 119) was found underneath the stone. Nine other golden items (nos 2–10) and a clay vessel (no. 11) had already been recovered during the earlier investigations. None of the items found in the previous excavations were examined at the time of writing this report.

Associated grave goods

1. Gold ring with a deep yellow colour and conical, polished garnet; the closed mount is fixed onto a thin, flat bezel in the band; elbow bends in band. W: 17.21 mm; Ht: 17.81 mm; Wt: 1.48 gm (Art 119; Fig. 44: 3).
- 2–7. Gold appliqué attached to the garments of the deceased (Fig. 44: 4–6, 10–12).
- 8–10. Gold beads. (Fig. 44: 7–9).
11. Tall ceramic container, with handles linking neck to shoulder. (Fig. 44: 13)

Human Skeletal Analysis

Twenty-four tombs yielded human skeletal remains, which were analysed (Fig. 58):

Area 118: Square, 3, 6, and 7 (Tombs 491, 498)

Area 142: Square 11 (Tombs 2, 5, 24, 25)

Area 143: Square 12 (Tombs 1, 6, 16, 23, 29, 30, 32, 34)

Area 166: Square 7 (Tombs 3, 7, 19, 21, 28); Square 8 (Tombs 4, 18, 22, 27, 33)

Sorting: The first step in the analysis involved removing non-human bones from the assemblage and sorting human bones into skeletal elements. Next, the bones were sorted into individuals. This was done by restoring broken bone, siding bones into left and right elements, determining the relative age of the bones, assessing sex and robusticity, and using bone colour and judgements about taphonomic processes operating on the burials to associate bones. Partial bone fragments that could not be assigned to element or individual were set aside. These techniques were used to determine the 'Minimum Number of Individuals' (MNI) represented in the burial.

Inventory: For each individual represented we took an inventory of the skeletal elements present. We noted whether the bones and teeth were complete or partial, and whether both sides were represented. A few fragmentary hand and foot bones, ribs and vertebrae could not be assigned to side or relative position in the skeleton. These were inventoried as unidentifiable, noting that their association with the individual was tenuous.

Metrics and non-metrics: Detailed metric measurements were taken on the cranium and postcranium in millimetres with two-decimal place accuracy. The measurement protocols are set out in Bass, Steele and Bramblett, and Wright.³⁰

Non-metric traits on the cranium and dentition were coded according to criteria defined by Berry and Berry³¹ and dental plaques developed by Turner *et al.*³²

Stature estimation: When the skeleton was complete, the Fully technique was used to estimate stature, using measurement guidelines outlined in Baxter *et al.*³³ In the absence of a complete set of cranial and vertebral elements, measurements of the femur, tibia, talus and calcaneus were used following Trotter and Gleser, and Bass.³⁴ While the genetic identification for individuals in this study is still under consideration, Trotter's estimates for Caucasians were followed as a preliminary guide in stature determination.³⁵

Sex: Sex determinations were made from the pelvis, cranium and femur. The pelvic determinations were based on the scoring system of Buikstra and Ubelaker,³⁶ and cranial observations were based on the criteria of Ascadi and Nemeskeri.³⁷ Femoral robusticity measurements were also used for determining sex, following Krogman³⁸ and Bass.³⁹

Age: Age estimates were based on pelvic morphology, cranial suture closure, epiphyseal fusion, and dental eruption sequence and dental attrition status. The Suchey-Brooks plaques are used for comparing pubic symphyseal morphology;⁴⁰ auricular surface changes are based on those described by

³⁰ Bass 1987; Steele and Bramblett 1988; Wright 2007.

³¹ Berry and Berry 1967.

³² Turner *et al.* 1991.

³³ Baxter *et al.* 2006, 2007.

³⁴ Trotter and Gleser 1958; Bass 1987.

³⁵ Trotter 1970.

³⁶ Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

³⁷ Ascadi and Nemeskeri 1970.

³⁸ Krogman 1962.

³⁹ Bass 1987.

⁴⁰ Suchey and Brooks 1987.

Lovejoy *et al.*;⁴¹ cranial suture standards follow Meindl and Lovejoy;⁴² the stages for the union of epiphyses are documented by Krogman⁴³ and Stewart⁴⁴; dental eruption sequence guidelines are provided by Ubelaker⁴⁵ and the dental attrition status guides are provided by Miles.⁴⁶

Health status: Detailed observations on health, pathology, trauma and cultural skeletal modifications were made. For recording illness, pathology and trauma, we followed the scoring criteria of the Global History of Health Project.⁴⁷ We used personal observations to note cultural skeletal modifications.

The Skeletal Remains

Tomb 1

Commingle remains of several individuals were recovered from this burial along with a partial bovine tibia and some small animal bones. There was evidence of disturbance in the grave. Lack of articulating joints between the cranium and mandible and between the cranium and postcranium made it difficult to associate cranial with postcranial elements and assign them to a single individual. On preliminary analysis we assigned the bones to nine individuals, some with only a few skeletal elements represented. Further detailed analysis allowed them to be reassigned to four individuals, with fragmentary remains of two other individuals.

Individual 1 (2008/T1/SM1): Adult male, estimated age between 30–39 years, represented by several postcranial bones. A few hand and foot bones, vertebrae and ribs that could not be positioned accurately in the skeleton are also assigned to this individual. Three lumbar vertebrae were fused in this individual, suggesting degenerative joint disease (Fig. 58: 1).

Individual 2 (2008/T1/SM2–SM4): The individual is represented by a partial cranium, without a mandible. Two halves of the cranium were originally separated and assigned to two individuals, but were later fitted together. Most of the neurocranium is present along with a partial maxilla holding a few maxillary teeth. Sex determination was inconclusive, with possible inclination towards being female. Age, based on dental attrition status and cranial suture

⁴¹ Lovejoy *et al.* 1985.

⁴² Meindl and Lovejoy 1985.

⁴³ Krogman 1962.

⁴⁴ Stewart 1979.

⁴⁵ Ubelaker 2008.

⁴⁶ Miles 1962.

⁴⁷ Steckel *et al.* 2002, 2008.

closure was determined to be between 34–50 years. A healed wound was noted on the left parietal extending inferior-anteriorly toward the temporal line.

Individual 3 (2008/T1/SM3): Partial cranium with mandible of a 42–50 year old male. None of the basicranium is present, but a few worn mandibular and maxillary teeth are present. A slight pitting on the left parietal is indicative of porotic hyperostosis. The mandible has cut marks on the left ramus (Fig. 58: 2).

Individual 5 (2008/T1/SM5): Only a left patella and partial left pelvic bones are assigned to this individual. The pubic symphyseal morphology and the unfused iliac crest indicate a subadult, about 15–24 years of age, of unknown sex.

Individual 6 (2008/T1/SM6): Left pelvis and femur and complete sacrum assigned to this individual. Pubic symphyseal and auricular surface morphology indicates an advanced age of about 50–60 years. Sex is determined to be male, based on pelvic morphology. This individual could be associated with individual 3.

Individual 7 (2008/T1/SM7): A few postcranial bones of a female, 26–40 years of age. Pelvic morphology was used for determining sex and age. These bones may be associated with the cranium of individual 2–4.

Individual 8 (2008/T1/SM8): A mandible with three teeth and a few postcranial bones are assigned to this individual. Two tali previously assigned to individual 10 were later reassigned to this individual. Identified as a female, 40–60 years of age based on pelvic morphology. Marked osteophytes were present on multiple vertebrae. There was evidence of a healed fracture of the ribs with two sections of ribs (perhaps the fourth to sixth ribs) joined by an oblique section of another rib (Fig. 58: 3). The fibula was compressed distally, either due to trauma or a degenerative change.

Individual 9 (2008/T1/SM9): The individual is identified by a right ilium, right ischium, complete sacrum and partial right fibula. No age or sex determinations can be made, but the size and shape of the sacrum indicates a young individual. On reanalysis it is possible that the remains may be attributable to individual 5.

Individual 11 (2008/T1/SM11): Once again, this individual is identified by scant remains: part right scapula and first rib. No further determinations about sex, age or stature can be made.

Tomb 2

Two disarticulated individuals are recognized from this burial. Some animal bones and teeth are also part of the assemblage. The burial is disturbed

and cranial and postcranial elements are strewn over the burial. The crania were crushed and partially restored in the lab.

Individual 1 (2008/T2/SM1): Possible female estimated age about 35–50 years. Several cranial and postcranial elements are present, but they are in poor preservation. The cranium is markedly compressed antero-posteriorly, with a tall dome above the forehead, suggesting extreme cranial modification (Fig. 58: 4). The teeth are well worn and some osteophytes are present on the vertebrae, notably in the thoracic region.

Individual 2 (2008/T2/SM2): This is a younger male, 20–35 years of age represented by fragmentary cranial material including maxillary and mandibular teeth and several portions of the postcranium. The teeth are not too worn and the cranial sutures are open.

Tomb 3

Five individuals are recognized from this burial. The remains are commingled. Not many cranial elements are present, but there is a large concentration of long bones. Small animal bones, probably belonging to a rodent are found in this burial.

Individual 1 (2008/T3/SM1): This is a juvenile individual, as determined from the dental eruption sequence. A partial maxilla is present with a few deciduous and permanent teeth. Several postcranial broken bones are also present. The age was estimated to be between 8 and 9 years. The sex could not be determined. The deciduous teeth were markedly worn and an enamel hypoplasia was evident on the upper incisor, indicating an illness or stressful event.

Individual 2 (2008/T3/SM2): A subadult, aged between 16–23 years. The remains consist of the articulated lower limb bones: femoral condyles, crushed tibia and fibula and several foot bones. A partial proximal radius and complete ulna were also assigned to this individual. Both tibiae had deep gashes about 5 cm long on the posterior side at the proximal end. The cuts are symmetrical going from lateral on the proximal end to medial on the distal end. This appears to be ante-mortem trauma; there is incomplete healing of what may be a ritualistic trauma.

Individual 3 (2008/T3/SM3): Female, 40–50 years of age, known from a few long bones, a calcaneus and a partial pelvis. The age was estimated from auricular surface morphology and sex determination was based on the shape of the sciatic notch. No other pathology or trauma was observed.

Individual 4 (2008/T3/SM4): 40–44 year old individual, possibly male, based on several complete long bones and pelvic fragments. The sex determining characteristics in the pelvis are indistinct. Age is determined on the

basis of the pubic symphyseal and auricular surface morphology. The right and left radii differ in size; the left radius appears to have a healed fracture.

Individual 5 (2008/T3/SM5): A foetus or neonate established from a partial right temporal, and a few postcranial bones, including partial femur and tibia. Age determination was based on the length of the tibial diaphysis.⁴⁸

Tomb 4

Only a few bone fragments were recovered from this burial. These were assigned to a single individual.

Individual 1 (2008/T4/SM1): Partial petrous part of the mastoid bone, small fragment of sternum, fragmentary vertebral body, and a few unidentified phalanges assigned to this individual. The phalanges are small, indicating a very young individual.

Tomb 5

Three individuals were recovered from this burial, one of which was represented merely by fragmentary portions of a maxilla and mandible. Incomplete skeletons represented the other two individuals. Some unidentified animal bones were also present.

Individual 1 (2008/T5/SM1): Young individual aged 5 years +/- 9 months based on dental eruption sequence. Quite a few cranial and postcranial fragments, most deciduous teeth and several unerupted permanent teeth are present. The cranium presents evidence of trephination on the left temporal (Fig. 58: 6–7). The trephined area has scalloped edges and appears unhealed. It transects a branch of the middle meningeal artery, which could have caused haemorrhaging and death in the individual. The internal surface of the right frontal bone has deep pitting, suggestive of a blood clot or tumour. This could have been the reason for the trephination surgery.

Individual 2 (2008/T5/SM2): Male, 30–40 years of age. A fragmentary, disarticulated skeleton is present. The cranium is matched with the postcranium based on age.

Individual 3 (2008/T5/SM3): Possible male, 35+ years, based on partial mandible and maxilla.

Tomb 6

A single articulated skeleton was present in this burial.

Individual 1 (2008/T6/SM1): The skeleton is well preserved, although the bones are fragile and several broke during excavation and relocation.

⁴⁸ Bass 1987.

The cranium is distorted either due to post-mortem soil pressure, or pre-mortem cranial modification. No other pathology or cultural treatment is visible. The epiphyses of the long bones are unfused. The individual is 15–26 years old, of indeterminate sex.

Tomb 7

The burial contained a fragmented, disarticulated skeleton of a single individual.

Individual 1 (2009/T7/SM1): 22–32 year old individual, possibly female, with virtually complete permanent dentition (only right maxillary second incisor missing), and partial cranial and postcranial skeleton. Both humeri have been cut about 6 cm from the distal end, but they appear to be fresh post-mortem cuts.

Tomb 16

A semi-articulated adult and a child skeleton were present in this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T16/SM1): Female, 20–35 years of age. The skeleton is well preserved and nearly complete, but it was disarticulated — the cranium and cervical vertebrae are moved superiorly from the rest of the skeleton. There are no signs of wounds or trauma, but the neural arch is separated from the anterior part of C2 vertebra, indicating possible hangman's fracture, or cervical spondylolisthesis.

Individual 2 (2009/T16/SM2): A child, 18 months +/- 3 months. The skeleton is extremely fragile and fragmentary. Two very small innominate bones, length 32 mm, width 29 mm were found with the burial. They are too small to be associated with this individual. If human, they denote the presence of an additional fetal individual.

Tomb 18

Articulated skeletons of two young individuals are found in this burial. The skeletons are incomplete. In particular, much of the crania and dentition are missing.

Individual 1 (2009/T18/SM1): Female, over 24 years of age. The remains are fragmentary, but there is no indication of trauma or post-mortem displacement.

Individual 2 (2009/T18/SM2): 12–15 year old sub-adult of unknown sex. The long bones have unfused epiphyses, and the calcaneus, ischial tuberosity, pubic symphysis and medial end of clavicle have billowing surfaces.

Tomb 19

A single individual is present in this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T19/SM1): A 26–38 year old female represented by a nearly complete skeleton with partial cranium, but much of the permanent dentition. The stature (based on the lengths of the femur and tibia) is estimated to be 157.5 cm. The skull has a 1 cm wide, 1 mm deep groove placed coronally on the internal surface of left parietal region. This appears to be antemortem pathology rather than trauma as the bone has healed and the corresponding groove is not seen on the external surface.

Tomb 21

The commingled remains of three individuals are found in this burial. The remains are assigned to individuals based on associations of size, robusticity and relative age.

Individual 1 (2009/T21/SM1): Possible female, 36–49 years of age, known by a few cranial fragments, isolated teeth, and fragmentary postcranial elements.

Individual 2 (2009/T21/SM2): Female, 20–35 years of age, based on a nearly complete cranium, but no mandible. A few postcranial elements are also present. Some cut marks on the bone appear to be post-mortem. There is evidence of cribra orbitalia within the right and left orbits.

Individual 3 (2009/T21/SM3): Sub-adult individual, 15–25 years old. The epiphyses of the long bones are unfused and an unerupted left lower third molar is present. The dentition is peculiar. The maxillary fragment has an unerupted incisor going across two sockets, and the roots of many of the teeth are tightly recurved.

Tomb 22

Commingled remains of at least seven individuals were recognized from this burial. Most remains were in poor preservation. The individuals were associated by size and robusticity. Some bones were discoloured suggesting that an earlier burial site had been disturbed. The bleached bones and some mixed fragments of commingled bones were sent to the laboratory to acquire C14 dates.

Individual 1 (2009/T22/SM1): Male, 24–50 years old, based on several cranial, postcranial and dental elements.

Individual 2 (2009/T22/SM2): Female, 28–44 years of age. Remains include portions of the mandible and temporal bone, several assorted teeth, and several fragmentary postcranial elements. Two permanent teeth had caries. The sex was determined to be female based on pelvic and cranial traits. However, the associated mandible also exhibited a male-like gonial flare.

Individual 3 (2009/T22/SM3): Female, about 32–40 years old represented by a partial mandible, some teeth, and assorted postcranial bones, including long bones, sacrum and vertebrae.

Individual 4 (2009/T22/SM4): Subadult, 15–24 years of age, sex indeterminate. No cranial bones present, but a few unworn teeth, long bones, metacarpals and metatarsals with unfused epiphyses, and vertebral bodies with billowed centra were assigned to this individual. On the upper 1/3 of the humerus there was a 1 × 2 cm area of new bone growth, indicating periostitis.

Individual 5 (2009/T22/SM5): Another subadult, 16–18 years old, sex indeterminate. Smaller in size than individual 4. Remains include fragments of the mandible, a few teeth and vertebral bodies.

Individual 6 (2009/T22/SM6): A child, 2–3 years of age. Represented by frontal fragments, some deciduous teeth, and some postcranial elements.

Individual 7 (2009/T22/SM7): Possible female, 40–44 years old. The remains were scanty and bleached. They seemed to belong to an earlier period than the other bones in T22. Most of the remains were sent off for C14 dating analysis.

Tomb 23

Three individuals identified here. Not many cranial elements, but substantial postcranial remains are present, although many are fragmentary.

Individual 1 (2009/T23/SM1): Possible male, 34–36 years of age. Remains are made up of a partial mandible, a few isolated teeth, and a few postcrania, including complete left and right tibia, and virtually complete foot bones. Sex determination is tenuous, as it is based only on the size of the femoral head. Six carious lesions are observed on the permanent teeth.

Individual 2 (2009/T23/SM2): Male, 35–40 years old, based on a few teeth, a complete ischium, complete and well-preserved left femur and right tibia, and a nearly complete set of foot bones. Stature is estimated to be between 173 and 175 cm.

Individual 3 (2009/T23/SM3): Subadult, between the ages of 18–24, represented by a large number of isolated teeth, manubrium of the sternum, a few vertebrae, both tibiae (only partial) and substantial foot bones. A sharp gash on the posterior side of the proximal end of the right tibia resembles that on 2008/T3/SM2.

Tomb 24

A single individual is identified from this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T24/SM1): Possible adult male, but the age and sex cannot be determined confidently because very few identifiable remains are

present. The individual is identified mostly from lower limb bones: partial femora, tibiae and fibulae, left patella, and many foot bones. Determined to be male based on the robusticity of the bones.

Tomb 25

A single individual is recognized from this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T25/SM1): Adult individual of indeterminate age and sex. Only distal fibulae and left and right foot bones are articulated (and in anatomical position) in the burial. The right fibula has been excised with a clean cut, with a further superficial cut mark proximal to the site of excision. Stature is estimated to be 157cms from the metatarsals.

Tomb 27

Remains of at least three individuals recognized from this burial. Several fragmentary and friable bones could not be assigned to any individual and were categorised as miscellaneous.

Individual 1 (2009/T27/SM1): 38–48 year old adult of indeterminate sex. No cranial elements were present, but some isolated teeth were assigned to this individual. Postcranial bones include partial long bones and a partial right ilium. Age determination is based on dental attrition.

Individual 2 (2009/T27/SM2): Juvenile, 6 years, +/- 9 months, sex indeterminate. Preserved elements include partial cranial bones, 3 deciduous teeth, some unerupted permanent teeth, partial left and right femur, left talus and partial right calcaneus.

Individual 3 (2009/T27/SM3): Male, 38–50 years old. Includes a partial cranium and mandible, maxillary and mandibular teeth, body of the sternum, partial long bones and pelvic fragments. Stature is estimated to be around 178 cm.

Tomb 28

Commingled remains of four individuals identified here. Some skull fragments, rib fragments and miscellaneous bone fragments were left unassigned. Some pig teeth were also found.

Individual 1 (2009/T28/SM1): Male, 35–48 years of age, represented by a partial mandible and some worn teeth, several fragmentary postcranial bones, including partial long bones, and several hand and foot bones. The left femur had three wounds in the middle third, the largest being 5.5×2 cm. There was evidence of possible periostitis on the upper third of the tibia, roughly 3×3 cm in area.

Individual 2 (2009/T28/SM2): 18–19 year old individual, sex indeterminate. Remains include a partial left temporal and left maxilla, few maxillary and mandibular teeth, manubrium of the sternum, left radius and ulna, left and right fibula, and most foot bones. Long bones epiphyses are fused.

Individual 3 (2009/T28/SM3): Male, 30–50 years of age with nearly complete cranium and partial mandible, complete left and right radius, left ulna, partial pelvis, partial left and right femur and tibia and substantial hand and foot bones. The cranium is deformed by strong bilateral compression (Figure 6) and exhibits auditory exostoses in the right and left ear.

Individual 4 (2009/T28/SM4): Juvenile, possibly 6 years, +/- 9 months. Has few remains including a partial mandible and some loose and unerupted teeth, ribs and vertebral fragments, right partial patella and calcaneus. Age assigned based on the presence of the unerupted mandibular first molar.

Tomb 29

Fragmentary remains of a single individual found in this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T29/SM1): Male, 32–50 years of age. Fragmentary cranial bones, partial mandible, several teeth and fragmentary postcranial bones represent this individual. There is a complete left and partial right fibula and the foot bones are nearly complete. The remains are fragile and the teeth are badly broken.

Tomb 30

Two individuals, an adult and juvenile are recognized from this burial. The skeletons are articulated, although they are fragile and several bones were difficult to reassemble after transportation.

Individual 1 (2009/T30/SM1): Female, 20–30 years of age. Nearly complete skeleton, includes mandible, cranium and postcranium. Many of the cranial and postcranial elements are fragmentary and most of the foot bones are missing.

Individual 2 (2009/T30/SM2): Juvenile, 4 years +/- 9 months. With cranial fragments, several unerupted permanent teeth and some deciduous teeth, partial clavicle, radius, ulna and right and left tibiae and some unidentified neural arches. Slight pitting is observed on the parietal bone and holes from burrowing beetles seen on long bones (Fig. 58: 5).

Tomb 32

A single individual with a nearly complete skeleton is recognized from this tomb. In addition the burial includes a juvenile clavicle, a small piece

of long bone and a small rib, which denotes the presence of a second individual.

Individual 1 (2009/T32/SM1): A female, 24–34 years old. The skeleton is nearly complete, but most of the bones are broken. Most of the vertebrae are present. Two teeth had caries. The juvenile individual, which is represented by the clavicle, long bone and rib, has a scalloped area, 92.5 mm long, removed from the long bone.

Tomb 33

Two individuals, an adult and a juvenile excavated from this tomb.

Individual 1 (2009/T33/SM1): Male, 30–44 years of age. Most of the remains are fragmentary. Includes cranial, dental and several postcranial fragments. Enamel hypoplasias present on the upper canine.

Individual 2 (2009/T33/SM2): Juvenile, 9–10 years of age, of indeterminate sex. The individual is represented by several bone fragments, cranial and postcranial, along with several permanent and deciduous teeth.

Burial 34

A single individual is recognized from this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T34/SM1): Male, 36–50 years old. The individual has a nearly complete cranium, which is severely deformed (Figure 8), most of the dentition, and a large proportion of the postcranial elements. The bones are in a good state of preservation. Stature is estimated at 158–160 cm. Enamel hypoplasias are visible on the upper incisor and canine. A carious lesion is present on one tooth, and there is evidence of an abscess in the maxilla.

Tomb 491

A single individual found in this burial.

Individual 1 (2009/T491/SM1): Subadult. Accurate age and sex cannot be determined as very few remains are available. They consist of a partial left ischium, and lower limb bones, including partial left and right femur, tibia and fibula, talus, navicular, one metatarsal and some foot phalanges. The epiphyses of the long bones are unfused.

Tomb 498

Two articulated skeletons were present in this burial. The skeletons were conserved *in situ* using paraloid, but the bones were extremely friable and they disintegrated when the bandages enclosing them were removed in the laboratory. Some tarsals bones and an unidentified tooth indicates the presence of a third individual in the tomb.

Individual 1 (2009/T498/SM1): Possible female, 50+ years of age. Represented by a cranium in fragments, a few teeth, and fragile postcranial bones. Assumed to be female because of the wide sciatic notch and the gracile cranial features, but the femoral heads are large.

Individual 2 (2009/T498/SM2): Subadult 12–20 years old, of indeterminate sex. Nearly complete skeleton is present, but most of the bones are crushed. Upper limb bones are absent, except for some unidentified metacarpals and phalanges. The lower limb bones are better represented, although broken. Age determination is based on dental attrition status and unfused epiphyses.

Preliminary conclusions on funerary practices

Three broad types of tombs were excavated: (a) a stone cist variety built from sandstone slabs; (b) a terracotta tile-lined type, sometimes superimposed with irregular field stones; (c) small earthen pits capped with a stone or plinth/tile fragments. The first two are the most common and often found interspersed and close together. Their general orientation is east-west, or southeast-northwest. Although our first batch of radiocarbon dates is still too small to draw conclusions, the preliminary trend appears to suggest that the tile tombs are earlier, ranging from mid-second to mid-fourth centuries, whereas the stone cist type covers the fifth and sixth centuries. The 390–220 BC date for Tomb 13, a small stone cist grave, is difficult to explain at this stage. Perhaps the few fragmentary bones collected from the tomb for radiocarbon analysis belonged to an earlier, disturbed tomb, and were gathered as part of the back fill for Tomb 13. Typologically, the artefacts from Tomb 13 fall within the third to fourth centuries after Christ. Similar silver and bronze bracelets were in Tomb 243 at Samtavro and were dated by a two-piece fibula to the fourth century AD.⁴⁹ Generally, bracelets of this type were common in Georgia during the first century. They are attested either individually or together at Armaziskhevi, at Baginetti in a sarcophagus dated to the second to third centuries, at Bori, in graves 4 and 14, at Cheremi in Khakheti (third to fourth centuries), and at Agaiani (not far from Mtskheta).⁵⁰ Bracelets of this type are also found across the late Classical world.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Abkhazava 1979, pp. 21–28, pl. III.

⁵⁰ Armaziskhevi (Apakidze *et al.* 1955, pp. 98–99, pl. 87), Baginetti (Apakidze 1963), Bori (Pridik 1914, pp. 3, 14, Tab. II), Cheremi (Mamiashvili 2004: pls 10, 18), Agaiani (Mirianashvili 1983, p. 41)

⁵¹ Brauer and Rostovtzev 1931.

There appears to be a pattern with the placement and breakage of the capstones of the cist tombs. Generally speaking, the middle stone is the narrowest and usually the one that is broken to allow access to the tomb. This is not the case with the tile-lined tombs that can have a varying number of stones placed on top, or none at all. When tile-lined tombs were sealed with three capstones they were usually of the same size. That the stone cist tombs had a narrow middle stone, suggests a predetermined plan to open the tomb at a later time, which is in keeping with the purposeful re-arrangement of the long bones and skull.

Looking at the skeletal material, commingled remains are more the norm than the exception in the 2008–2009 Samtavro burials (Fig. 59). Out of the 24 burials studied, only seven had articulated skeletons (all found in tile-lined tombs), whereas ten had the commingled remains of multiple individuals. The commingled on the whole are in poor state of preservation, possibly because of disturbance to the burials, when the commingling occurred. There is a predominance (in the stone cist tombs) of lower limb bones, particularly foot bones (seen in Tombs 3, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 491 and 498). This could be intentional (and of cultural significance).

Where sex could be determined, males and females are equally represented in the burials (18 females, 17 males). Sub-adults, aged between 10 and 25 years, whose sex cannot be determined accurately, make up about 10 individuals, and juveniles (fetal to 10 years old) make up 12 individuals. The adult population in the burials spans the ages of 20 to 60 years. Thus, a good cross section of age and sex is represented in the burials. Juvenile and sub-adult skeletons are rarely found unaccompanied in a burial — they are found in the presence of another adult, most often a female (Tombs 16, 18, 30, 498). The exception is burial 6, a burial of a single sub-adult.

Stature could be estimated for only five individuals. Male stature falls in the range of 173–178 cm, while female stature is between 153 and 160 cm. This is well within the range of present-day healthy populations and is a good indication of the health and nutritional status of the Samtavro population. The lack of extensive dental disease also indicates good nutritional health. Only three individuals exhibit dental caries, although teeth are generally quite well worn. Cribra orbitalia and porotic hyperostosis, which are signs of anaemia are not very common (only three cases). Only three cases of degenerative joint disease and osteophyte development also speak to the lack of extreme physical hardship in the population. There were five cases of healed wounds, indicating that the population recovered well from trauma. One case of trephination surgery, in a juvenile who unfortunately did not survive the surgery, nonetheless shows that the people were capable of caring for their sick.

Two major cultural practices noted are trauma to the lower limbs and the intentional modification of the cranium. The first signs of cultural practice consisted of deep cuts behind the knees (seen in two cases) and cut marks to the ankles (one case). The other practice of cranial modification is exemplified by four of the six complete crania studied in the 2008–2009 burials. One of these (2008/T6/SM1) may be the result of taphonomic compression, but the others have clear bilateral or anterior-posterior compression. Both males and females underwent this cultural treatment. Although the significance of cranial deformation at Samtavro is presently unclear, the similarity between the Samtavro crania and the distinctive elongated skulls of certain Hunnic-like burials of the fifth century from cemeteries in the Great Hungarian Plain is tantalising to say the least.⁵²

Some of the clearest evidence of Hunnic practice is attested in the Middle Danube, where so-called ‘Danubian’ Germanic inhumations, which have their roots in the fourth century, have yielded a number of cases of cranial deformation. Grave goods associated with these Danubian burials included items of personal adornments, clothing, and weaponry. Interestingly, it was fairly common to bury the deceased with broken metallic mirrors, which again recalls the two broken mirrors at Samtavro. Whereas these Danubian cemeteries and the Hunnic practices they display are contemporary with the Samtavro stone cist tombs, no definitive link ought to be made at this stage until further investigations are conducted. We can, however, say two things with some certainty. First, is that a clear and major change in burial practice occurred at Samtavro between the fourth and fifth centuries, and is represented by the shift from tile-lined tombs to stone cist tombs. Second, Georgia, like other regions of the late Roman Empire, reflected a religious pluralism. The transition from paganism to Christianity was a gradual and complex process, whereby civic paganism melded with the doctrines of the state religion of Christianity.⁵³

Excavation: Area 118

In the mid-1980s, a large building was partially excavated in Area 118. Archival photographs (Fig. 25: 1) reveal its basic plan, namely a large room with two, smaller, adjacent rooms attached to the west. The most conspicuous feature, though, is the vast amount of *in situ* roof tiles, both *imbrices*

⁵² Heather 2005, p. 331, pl. 24. A.S. would like to thank Edward East for drawing his attention to this reference.

⁵³ Mitchell 2007, pp. 229–234.

and *tegulae*, spread across the area, some clustered in heaps, with the largest in the centre of the room. Such is the concentration of tiles in parts that they appear to have been placed in heaps deliberately. Photographs also reveal that segments of the outer walls, especially the eastern and northern, have been damaged by the construction of stone cist tombs, which are orientated along an east-west axis (Fig. 26: 3, 5). When compared to a photograph taken in June 2009, we notice that while some of the tiles had been cleared, little had changed in the interim period. A roof shelter constructed in the 1984–85 has protected the features from the natural elements.

Excavations in 2009 clarified the stratigraphy of the building, possibly a temple. Judging from the extant walls, the large room (Room 1) encompassed an area about 100 m² (Fig. 25: 2). The walls measured just over a metre in width and comprised a central core of riverine stones of various sizes packed in mud (Fig. 26: 2). They were supported on four courses of stone foundations, generally arranged with the larger stones along the edges and smaller ones in between (Fig. 26: 3). Thick mud plaster, the result of several coats, lined extant segments of the interior wall in the south-west. This and the general cleanliness of the building suggest that its upkeep was frequent. In the north-west corner a clay bin was positioned up against the wall. The tiles lay on a deposit of wall collapse, comprising red-brown mud brick debris. This was interspersed with the burnt twigs and organic matter used to line the interior ceiling (Fig. 26: 6–7). Burnt wooden debris approximating geometric shapes is likely to be the outline remaining of furniture and fittings. A sample of charcoal provided a reading, calibrated to 95.4% probability, of 60 BC–AD 80 (Wk-26155).

The tiles were loosely bonded in a mound by a matrix of pale grey clay that originally sealed the gaps between the tiles. Whereas the large heap in the centre of the building was a jumble, seemingly either roof collapse or placed there for a purpose, the smaller mound adjacent to tombs 436 and 596, in the northwestern corner of the building, showed a clear pattern of fall (Fig. 26: 1).

Removal of the mud brick debris, revealed a beaten mud floor into which was fixed a circular clay hearth that lay immediately beneath the largest heap of tiles (Fig. 25: 2; 26: 4). The hearth measures between 127 and 129 cm in diameter; the width of its wall is 20 cm. Charcoal collected within the hearth yielded a reading of 260–40 BC (Wk-26157), within a 95.4% confidence level. A greater quantity of charcoal was found in a square-shaped pit that was dug into the floor to the west of the hearth. A sample provided a calibrated date of 240–20 BC (Wk-26156). The disparity in age between the samples collected from the floor (furniture or fixtures) and

those collected from the hearth and pit (twigs and braches) can be explained in terms of ‘old wood’ effect. That is, whereas recently felled timber was used for furniture and fixtures, old wood collected from the forest floor was used as kindling for the hearth. The ceramics found through this building find similarities with those from eastern Georgia (the Kartli region) during the third to first centuries BC.⁵⁴

Attached to the north-west corner of the large room were two smaller rooms (**Fig. 26: 5**). The better preserved of two doorways enabled access to the north room (Room 2), and the other entrance led to the adjacent room (Room 3). After the building had burnt, a pit was dug into the western wall of Room 3, which provided a calibrated date (95.4% probability) of 100 BC–AD 70 (Wk-26158). Subsequently, cist tombs further disturbed the walls. Amongst the debris at the doorway that connected Room 1 to Room 2, were front and back fittings of a loop iron door handle with diamond-shaped back plates; the iron nails and fragments of the wooden door were still attached. Both of these rooms, but Room 3 in particular, were filled with a fine, powdery, grey ash. The floor of these rooms was not reached at the end of the 2009 excavations.

Finally, some indication of the age of deposits beneath this large building is afforded by an ashy sample collected 35 cm below the main floor of the building along an eroded edge of the building. The calibrated reading of 1440–1290 BC (Wk-26154) suggests the deep roots of occupation extend back to at least the Late Bronze Age.

Catalogue of Objects from Area 118

1. Locus 6.8. Large hammer stone, roughly shaped with battered edges, dense grey basalt. Ht: 48 mm; W: 101 mm (Art 226; **Fig. 46: 1**).
2. Locus 6.5. Small fragment of blown glass, pale green. L: 21 mm; W of neck: 13 mm (Art 161; **Fig. 46: 2**).
3. Locus 6.1 Bear claw, polished upper, natural yellow-coloured lower, possibly pierced at end. L: 47.5 mm; W: 13 mm (Art 176; **Fig. 46: 3**).
4. Locus 6.1. Large iron tool, with a square section; badly corroded. L: 172 mm; W of section: 14 × 12 mm (Art 166; **Fig. 46: 4**).
5. Locus 6.1. Large iron nail with fragments of a plate and wood; corroded. L: 18 mm; W of head: 19 mm (Art 165; **Fig. 46: 5**).

⁵⁴ Narimanishvili 1991.

6. Locus 6.5. Bone fragment, probably part of a tool, polished on the high points from use. L: 24 mm; W: 9 mm (Art 221; **Fig. 46: 6**).
7. Locus 6.12. Iron door fixture, perhaps part of a broken handle; diamond-shaped back plate with four dome headed nails. L of central shank: 111 mm; Pres L of plate: 68 mm; Pres W of plate: 65 mm (Art 177; **Fig. 47: 1**).
8. Locus 6.1. Large iron nail, corroded. L: 23 mm; W of head: 21 mm (Art 164; **Fig. 47: 2**).
9. Locus 6.4. Iron nail, head missing, corroded. L: 53 mm; W of section: 7 × 7 mm (Art 133; **Fig. 47: 3**).
10. Locus 6.4. Iron nail (?), incomplete, corroded. L: 61 mm; W: 7 mm (Art 134; **Fig. 47: 4**).
11. Locus 6.1. Iron loop door handle with diamond-shaped back plate; three of four nails survive, with the fourth possibly. Four other corroded fragments may be part of the locking device. Ht: 106 mm; Th: 60 mm (Art 95; **Fig. 48: 1-5**).
12. Locus 6.5. Large nail with flat head, bent and heavily corroded. L: 44 mm; W of head: 23 mm; L of head: 18 mm; Total L: 45 mm (Art 201; **Fig. 48: 6**).
13. Locus 6.1. Iron nail; corroded, possibly part of Art 95. L: 54 mm; W of head: 16 × 20 mm (Art 96; **Fig. 48: 7**).
14. Locus 6.5. Iron fragment, possibly the corner fitment of a box or furniture; corroded. L: 25 mm (Art 142; **Fig. 48: 8**).
15. Square 6.5. Two fragments of a large, thick, iron nail; heavily corroded. L: 41 mm; W of head: 17 mm (Art 203; **Fig. 48: 9**).

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Figure 49

1. Locus 6.5. Hole mouth rim fragment from a jar; distorted rim shape; HM; dark brown 7.5YR 4/3 compact clay with a moderate amount of small mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; roughly smoothed, self-slipped surfaces; moderately jagged breaks. [SF.99].
2. Locus 6.1. Pot fragments; swelling neck wall; rounded rim; rounded loop handle stump with trilobate section; Matt Dark Grey Ware (or Wet-Grey Ware, black clay with a small amount of mixed gritty, fine to small inclusions in the paste; well-leigated.
3. Locus 6.13. Disc base fragment; WM; Matt Dark Grey Ware, or Wet-Grey Ware; dark grey N3/ compact clay throughout with very fine

- micaceous and mixed gritty inclusions throughout the paste; smoothed matt interior and exterior. BD 10 [SF.94].
4. Locus 6.13. Shoulder fragment from a closed vessel; decorated with an incised wavy line and an applied thin wavy line; WM; a moderate amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the reddish brown 7.5YR 6/6 paste; smoothed matt exterior; roughly smoothed and striated interior; eroded breaks. RD 13. [SF.95].
 5. Locus 5.1. Handle fragment; lop-sided handle attachment on the top mimicking metal work hinges; round-sectioned; HM; reddish-grey 5YR 5/2 through section; a small amount of very fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; matt grey exterior. [SF.45].
 6. Locus 6.1. Body fragment from a closed vessel; dark grey brown 7.5YR 5/2 clay; very fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; matt black slip on both sides; combed upper wall and impressed rope design. [SF.50].
 7. Locus 6.1. Pot fragment; flaring collared rim; WM; Drab Grey Ware; light reddish brown 5YR 6/4 clay; firing grey brown on the interior; a moderate amount of mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; plain 7.5YR 5/1 exterior surface. RD 16. [SF.27].
 8. Locus 6.1. Pot fragment; flaring rolled collared rim; WM; Drab Grey Ware; even grey N5/ through the section; hard-fired; fine to medium mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; plain matt surfaces; breaks are jagged. RD 20. [SF.28].
 9. Locus 6.1. Small pot fragment; flaring rim; rounded lip; WM; Drab Grey Ware; even very dark grey N3/ clay through the section; a small amount of mixed particles in the paste; shallow impressions on the shoulder mimic string marks or leather thronging; matt grey surfaces. RD 8. [SF.22].
 10. Locus 6.6. Body fragment from a jar; WM; back N5/ clay with mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; well-levigated; self-slipped matt finish; impressed grooved string-like design.
 11. Locus 6.1. Flat base fragment with light wheel striations and deep punctures made while the clay was wet; Drab Grey Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 6/2 clay; refined paste with no apparent inclusions; matt surfaces. [SF.33].
 12. Locus 6.1. Cooking pot fragments; thin-walled with blacked patches from use; WM; Coarse Drab Ware; extremely heavily gritted paste with mixed small to large gritty inclusions; grey 5YR 5/2 clay firing red 5YR 6/6 near the surfaces; plain roughly smoothed interior and exterior. RD 12 [SF.44].

13. Locus 6.1. Two joining halves from a flat based cooking pot; WM and striated interior and exterior; Drab Grey Ware; heat damaged; dark core firing dark red-brown 7.5YR 5/3 near the surfaces; some voids and mixed small to fine gritty inclusions in the paste; plain smoothed drab surfaces. BD 9.8. [SF.25-26].

Figure 50

1. Locus 6.1. Deep bowl fragment with thickening walls toward the rim; off-set slightly everted rim; WM and lightly striated walls; Drab Grey Ware; refined clay with a small amount of very fine flecks in the grey 10YR 6/2 paste, firing pale grey near the surface; combed decoration on the lower exterior wall; smoothed self-slipped interior. RD 20. [SF.24]
2. Locus 6.1. Shoulder fragment from a jar; WM and lightly striated on the interior; Grey Burnished Ware; even grey 10YR 6/1 through section; a moderate amount of dark grey small particles in the clay; roughly burnished grey N5/-N4/ exterior; smoothed interior; deeply triangle design on the exterior made while the clay was wet. [SF.23]
3. Locus 6.1. Flat base fragment from a large vessel; even pink 7.5YR 7/4 through the section; some voids and levigation folds in the section; very fine mixed flecks in the paste; self-slipped, matt pink 7.5YR 8/3-7/3 smoothed exterior; smoothed plain interior. BD 12.
4. Locus 6.5. Carinated fragment probably from the shoulder of a jar; HM; Grey Burnished Ware; grey-brown through section; occasional large gritty particle in the paste; burnished exterior; plain interior; combed wavy pattern. [SF.38]
5. Locus 6.13. Tall neck fragment from a jar with off-set everted rim; WM with ribbed interior; compact refined grey 7.5YR 5/1 clay with a small amount of fine particles in the clay; sharp breaks; vertical burnished neck, mottled colour; roughly smoothed interior. [SF.97]
6. Locus 6.1. Bottle or jug top; WM; well-levigated clay; a small amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; even grey-brown 7.5YR 6/2 through the section; plain matt interior; matt red brown 5YR 4/4-4/3 slip on the upper neck and rim, burnished on the lower exterior wall. RD 7. [SF.49]
7. Locus 6.5. Rim fragment from a deep vessel; HM; compact and well-fired grey-brown 10YR 5/2 clay; occasional fine gritty inclusions in the paste; mottled grey 10YR 5/1 to pale brown 10YR 7/4 burnished exterior; mottled smoothed interior; RD 12. [SF.39]

8. Locus 6.1. Neck fragment from a jar; probably WM and finely striated matt interior surface; mid-brown 7.5YR 6/4 through section; hard-fired and compact clay with a small amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; pattern burnished; light grey 10YR 7/2 slipped on both sides.
9. Locus 6.1. Body fragment from a large pithos with the stump of a strap handle; Grey Burnished Ware; WM and heavily, but finely striated (perhaps combed) interior; unevenly grey to grey brown 7.5YR 7/3–6/1 through the section; compact and well-levigated clay; a small amount of fine to small mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; hard-fired clay; plain interior; the exterior is grey-black N5/ mottled slip, burnished with a translucent quality. [SF.30]
10. Locus 6.5. Shoulder fragment from a jar; HM; even grey-brown 10YR 5/2 through section; well-levigated; hard-fired; a small amount of minute gritty inclusions are in the paste; net pattern burnished with wide and thin lines; matt grey surface where not burnished; smoothed interior. [SF.87]
11. Locus 6.6. Open bowl fragment with sharply carinated shoulder; flaring rim and rounded lip; WM; pale brown 5YR 6/3 through section, firing redder near the interior surface; well-levigated and compact, hard-fired clay; a moderate amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions; burnished black slip on interior, matt N4/–N3/ on the exterior. RD 14.
12. Locus 6.1. Body fragment from a thin-walled pot; WM with striated interior; Grey Burnished Ware; even grey 10YR 6/1 through section; well-levigated with a small amount of very fine particles in the paste; shallow bored depressions on the exterior are perhaps decorative; burnished exterior. [SF.32]

Figure 51

1. Locus 6.5. Body fragment from a large thin-walled vessel; even grayish brown 2.5Y 5/2 clay with voids and a moderate amount of fine gritty inclusions in the paste; grey self-slipped smoothed interior and exterior; net pattern burnished decoration on the exterior. [SF.101]
2. Locus 6.8. Open bowl fragment with deeply ridged and grooved exterior wall under the rim; flattened lip; even brown 5YR 4/2 through the section with a small amount of mixed fine to small gritty inclusions in the paste; black slipped interior and exterior, burnished on the high points; smoothed interior. [SF.88]

3. Locus 6.5. Flat base; even reddish yellow 5YR 7/6 clay; occasional small gritty inclusions; rough exterior surface; exterior has thick streaky vertical burnishing; smoothed plain interior. BD 13. [SF.92]
4. Locus 6.4. Large jar fragments; upper neck and shoulder were joined forming a seam on the interior; WM and striated exterior; Pale Brown Ware; compact and crisply fired, clay; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/6 through the section; very fine mixed particles in the paste; smoothed interior and exterior surfaces; self-slipped exterior. RD 13. [SF.43]
5. Locus 6.1. Small pot with flaring rim and rounded lip; Pale Brown Ware; WM and finely striated on both sides; thin-walled and very crisply fired; even pale brown 5YR 7/6 through the section; occasional very fine voids and micaceous inclusions in the paste; pale brown 10YR 8/3 matt slip on the exterior; smoothed plain interior.
6. Locus 6.3. Small bottle or jar fragment; slightly flaring, narrow neck to the simple rounded lip; thin-walled; WM with finely striated surfaces; Pale Brown Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/6 through section; a small amount of fine to small gritty inclusions in the paste; matt plain surfaces. RD. 9. [SF.40]
7. Locus 6.5. Jar fragment; flaring rim; simple rounded lip; wide body; even pale red clay; well-levigated; a moderate amount of very fine mixed gritty particles are in the paste; smoothed self-slipped exterior; roughly smoothed interior; breaks are sharp. RD 16. [SF.98]
8. Locus 6.4. Pot fragment; slightly flaring rim, rounded lip and short neck; thin walled; WM; slightly striated interior and exterior; even reddish yellow 5YR 6/6 through the section; well-levigated; a small amount of fine mixed grit and golden micaceous inclusions in the paste; self-slipped pink 7.5YR 7/4 surface. RD 13.

Figure 52

1. Locus 6.1. Large deep cooking pot fragment with signs of heat damage and use wear; everted ledge-like rim; thick walls; WM; Pale Brown Ware; crisply fired; even coloured red 10R 6/8 clay; mixed very fine gritty inclusions in the paste; compact and well-fired and levigated clay; matt red slip on the interior; matt red-brown 10R 4/3 slip on the exterior. RD 30.4. [SF.8]
2. Locus 6.1. Fragment from a large pithos with everted rim; WM; thick walls; Pale Brown Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 6/4 clay; occasional very fine particles in the clay; matt smoothed exterior and interior. RD c.42. [SF.11]

3. Locus 6.1. Large pithos fragment; everted rim; WM; thick walls; Pale Brown Ware; occasional minute particle in the refined, pale brown 7.5YR 7/6 clay; matt self slipped surfaces. RD 46. [SF.10]
4. Locus 6.1. Fragments from a large pithos; everted rim and deeply curved neck; WM; thick-walled; Pale Brown Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/6 clay with occasional small grit in the paste; wiped self-slipped interior; smoothed self-slipped exterior. RD c.38. [SF.9]

Figure 53

1. Locus 6.1. Fragment from a large closed jar; flaring rim and rounded simple lip; a moderate amount of golden mica in the reddish yellow 5YR 6/6 paste and at the surface; signs of heat damage and blackened rim; plain, wet-smoothed light reddish brown 5YR 6/4 rough surfaces; and edges are jagged. RD 14. [SF.29]
2. Locus 6.1. Large jar fragment; flaring neck to the slightly everted rim; rounded lip; Pale Brown Ware; smoothed even brown 5YR 7/6 coloured through the section, slightly redder near the interior surface; well-levigated and hard fired; a small amount of very fine to small mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; matt self-slipped smoothed surfaces; breaks are sharp. RD 13. [SF.19]
3. Locus 6.6. Pot fragment with flaring rim and rounded lip; WM; even red 2.5YR 6/6 clay; well-levigated clay; a small amount of mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; plain surfaces. RD 14.
4. Locus 6.1. Jar fragment; flaring rim; WM; thin-walled; Pale Brown Ware; slightly redder 5YR 6/6 in the section; voids and a moderate amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; matt thinly slipped 7.5YR 6/4 exterior; self-slipped interior. RD 18. [SF.21]

Figure 54

1. Locus 6.5. Large jar; narrow, irregular flat-topped, rim fragment; Pale Brown Ware; WM; even pale brown 7.5YR 6/4 through section; refined clay with occasional fine to small gritty inclusions in the paste; well-levigated; crisp-fired hard texture; self-slipped interior and exterior. RD c.48. [SF.91]
2. Locus 6.1. Handle fragment; rectangular section; Pale Brown Ware; even red 5YR 6/8 through section; a moderate amount of very fine mixed inclusions are in the paste; smoothed matt surfaces; potter's mark was cut on the back while the clay was wet. [SF.20]

3. Locus 6.1. Cupped mouth fragment probably from a jug or bottle; thick-walled; WM; Pale Brown Ware; mid-brown 7.5YR 7/4 clay, even coloured through section; some voids and very fine particles in the paste; thin buff 2.5Y 8/2 slipped surfaces. RD 12. [SF.37]
4. Locus 6.5. Shoulder fragment from a jar; WM; compact, well-levigated, even coloured pinkish brown 5YR 7/4 clay with a moderate amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; incised straight and wavy horizontal design on the exterior while the clay was wet; slipped pale brown 10YR 6/3 surfaces. [SF.100]
5. Locus 6.1. High shouldered bowl with vertical rim and slightly everted rounded lip; Pale Brown Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/4 through section; a small amount of very fine particles in the paste; slightly striated self-slipped exterior; smoothed self-slipped interior. RD c.31. [SF.31]
6. Locus 6.1. Open bowl fragment; dull carination on the shoulder; vertical rim with rounded lip; WM; even pink 7.5YR 7/4 clay; well-levigated; occasional mixed very fine gritty inclusions in the paste; smoothed self-slipped matt surfaces. RD 16.
7. Locus 6.3. Open large bowl fragment; rounded lip; off-set profile with near vertical rim; WM and striated surfaces; Pale Brown Ware; even mid-brown 7.5YR 6/4 through section; a small amount of very fine particles in the paste; red 7.5YR 5/6 burnished slip on the interior and exterior; eroded surfaces. RD 24. [SF.41]
8. Locus 6.4. Open bowl fragment; thickened inverted rim; WM; well-levigated clay; even pale brown 7.5YR 6/4 through section; mixed very fine gritty inclusions in the paste; smoothed interior and exterior; matt very pale brown 10YR 7/3 self slip. RD 18.
9. Locus 6.1. Open bowl fragment; high shoulder; inverted rim; rounded lip; Pale Brown Ware; WM; even pale brown 5YR 7/6 through the section; a small amount of very fine mixed gritty particles in the paste; plain exterior; encrusted interior. RD 18.

Figure 55

1. Locus 6.13. Open bowl fragment with near vertical rim and rounded lip; WM; Pale Brown Ware; grey brown 7.5YR 5/2 compact and well-levigated, refined clay with a small amount of very fine particles in the paste; red-brown 10R 5/4 slipped exterior; breaks are sharp. RD 18. [SF.96]

2. Locus 6.8. Bowl fragment with high shoulder and inverted rim; rounded lip; very thick walls; Pale Brown Ware, Red-Slipped; even pale red 7.5YR 7/6 through the section; dipped in matt red 2.5YR 5/4 slip on the lower exterior wall; traces of fugitive red slip on the interior. RD 18 [SF.89]
3. Locus 6.1. Open bowl fragment, possible with high foot or stem; near vertical rim; rounded lip; even red 5YR 7/8 through section; a small amount of very fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; compact and well-levigated clay; thick red 10R 5/6 slip and burnished surfaces; breaks are moderately sharp. RD 16. [SF.17]
4. Locus 6.1. Large bowl fragment; high shoulder; inverted rim; rounded lip; WM; thick walls; Pale Brown Ware; refined clay, even red 5YR 6/6 through section; occasional very fine gritty inclusions; matt interior and exterior. RD c.30. [SF.18]
5. Locus 6.1. Fragment from a large bowl; high shoulder and inverted rim; rounded lip; WM; Pale Brown Ware; thick-walled; even red 5YR 7/6 clay; a small amount of very fine particles in the paste; well-refined and levigated clay; wiped and self-slipped interior; the exterior is self-slipped, smoothed and has graffito on the exterior made post-firing; breaks are sharp. RD 28. [SF.13]
6. Locus 6.5. High shouldered bowl fragment with sharply defined off-set, inverted rim and thin lip; HM; red 2.5YR 6/6 clay; a moderate amount of very fine mixed gritty inclusions are in the compact and hard-fired paste; self-slipped plain surfaces with finger prints on the interior. RD c.34. [SF.85]

Figure 56

1. Locus 6.4. Shallow open pan; Pale Brown Ware; no signs of heat damage; small impressed groove on the base; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/4 clay; fine voids and occasional fine gritty inclusions in the paste; self slipped matt and smoothed surfaces. RD 32, H 8.7, BD 22. [SF.6]
2. Locus 6.4. Ring base fragment; WM; Pale Brown Ware; even pale brown 7.5YR 7/4 through the section; some voids and a small amount of fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; red 2.5YR 5/6 slipped surface; eroded plain interior; smoothed exterior; thick burnished red-brown on the exterior to the resting surface; the base is in reserve. RD 8. [SF.4]
3. Locus 6.1. Ring base fragment; WM; Pale Brown Ware, Red-Slipped; refined even pale brown 7.5YR 7/6 clay with minute particles in the

- paste; fugitive red 2.5YR 6/6, matt slipped exterior; red burnished slip on the interior. BD 8. [SF.34]
4. Locus 6.1. High footed bowl fragment; WM; Pale Brown Ware, Red-Slipped; even pale red 5YR 7/6 clay with some fine to medium gritty inclusions in the paste; matt red 2.5YR 6/4 slip on the surfaces. BD 8. [SF.14]
 5. Locus 6.1. Handle fragment; ovoid section; a small amount of fine to small gritty inclusions in the red 2.5YR 6/8 paste; plain pale red interior surface; burnished thick red 10R 6/8 slipped exterior. [SF.16]
 6. Locus 6.1. Small bowl rim fragment; very thin walls; thickened rounded lip; WM; even refined clay; pale brown 5YR 7/8 throughout; minute dark particles in the paste; matt streaky red-brown 5YR 5/6 slipped exterior. RD 10.
 7. Locus 6.1. Footed bowl fragment; WM with fine striations on the interior and exterior; Pale Brown Ware; well-levigated and thoroughly fired clay; even red 2.5Y 7/8 paste with a small amount of very fine gritty inclusions; matt self-slipped surfaces. BD 9. [SF.15]
 8. Locus 6.1. Ring base fragment from a large vessel; WM vessel, hand modelled foot; Pale Brown Ware; even coloured reddish yellow through section; compact clay with some voids and fine mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; exterior is red-brown 5YR 5/8 slipped with streaky vertical burnishing; roughly smoothed plain interior. BD 16. [SF.1]
 9. Locus 6.1. Probable lid fragment; Pale Brown Ware, Red-Slipped; even pale brown 5YR 7/6 clay; some fine to small gritty inclusions in the paste; matt red 2.5YR 6/6 slip on the exterior; pale yellow 2.5Y 8/2 matt slipped interior. Dm 30. [SF.35]

Figure 57

1. Locus 6.4. Base fragment from a large jar; WM; even red 5YR 5/8 through section; thin-walled vessel; a small amount of mixed fine gritty inclusions in the paste; smoothed matt, thin very pale brown 10YR 8/2 slipped exterior; striated plain interior. BD 14.
2. Locus 6.1. Base fragment; heavy and thick walls and roughly flattened resting surface; irregularly shaved and trimmed around the exterior to neaten the edge; WM; Pale Brown Ware; refined even-coloured reddish yellow 7.5YR 8/6 clay with very fine gritty inclusions in the paste. BD c.13. [SF 12]

3. Locus 6.I. Shoulder fragment from a closed jar; WM; Pale Brown Ware; thin-walled vessel, thickening at the joint between neck and shoulder; even-coloured, reddish yellow 7.5YR 7/4–7/6 through section; well-levigated clay with occasional very fine gritty inclusions; matt red 10R 5/6 painted bands with petal-shaped in-fill; plain interior. [SF.3]
4. Locus 6.I. Shoulder fragment from a thin-walled closed vessel, thickening where it joined the neck with finger impressions on the interior; WM; Pale Brown Ware; even pinkish 7.5YR 7/4 clay with occasional gritty inclusions in the paste; matt buff smoothed surface; dark grey brown 7.5YR 4/1 matt, oblique painted bands. [SF.2]
5. Locus 6.I. Body fragment from a large and thin-walled jar; Coarse Drab Ware; even brown 7.5YR 6/3 clay; a small amount of fine mixed gritty and micaceous inclusions are in the paste; plain smoothed interior; self-slipped light brown 7.5YR 6/4 exterior; painted with wide brown 7.5YR 5/2 bands in rustic fashion on the exterior. [SF.46]
6. Locus 6.I. Handle fragment with ovoid section from a large storage jar; WM; Pale Brown Ware; some voids and occasional mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; even reddish yellow 5YR 7/6 through section; matt plain interior; matt self-slipped exterior. [SF.5]
7. Locus 6.4. Body fragment with graffito made post firing; WM; even red 7.5YR 6/6 through section; a small amount of mixed gritty inclusions in the paste; smoothed self-slipped exterior; plain interior.
8. Locus 6.I. Body fragments from a large, very thin-walled jar; WM; Pale Brown Ware; even reddish yellow 5YR 6/6 through section; occasional minute, mainly white gritty inclusions in the paste; well-levigated; self-slipped 5YR 7/6 surface with matt red 10YR 5/6 painted bands and wavy line on the exterior; plain smoothed interior. [SF.47]
9. Locus 6.5. Body fragment from a tall very thin-walled storage jar; even pale red 5YR 6/6 clay through section with a small amount of very fine gritty inclusions in the paste; a seam has formed where two sections of the vessel were joined; pale brown 7.5YR 7/4 slipped exterior with fugitive traces of pale yellowish 10YR 8/3 bands; the interior is plain and roughly smoothed. [SF.102]
10. Locus 6.I. Roof tile, capping fragment; potter's mark incised while the clay was wet; applied knob; WM and striated interior; even red 5YR 7/8 through section; refine clay with occasional very fine particles in the paste; matt red 5YR 6/6 slipped exterior. [SF.51]

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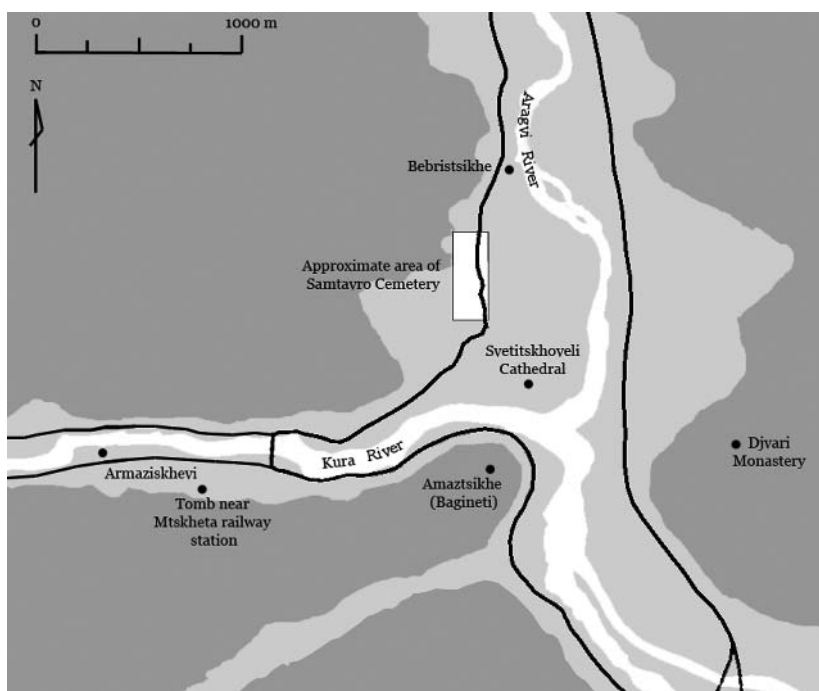
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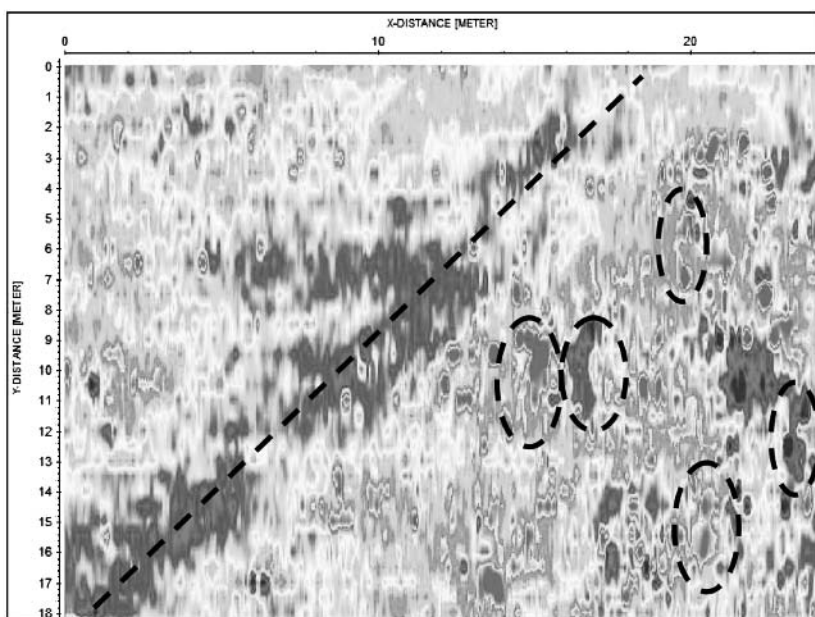


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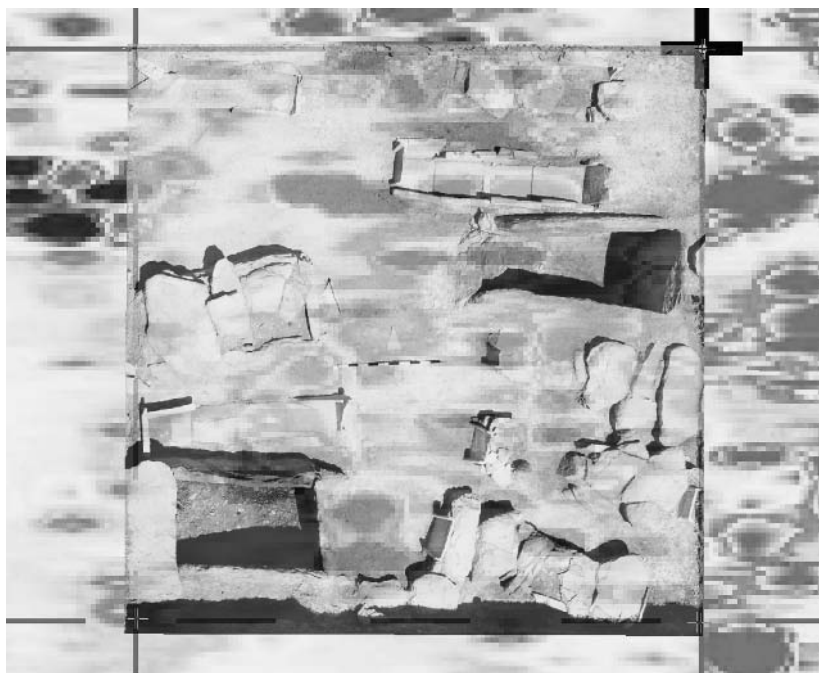


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Fig. 1. 1: Map of Georgia, showing the location of Mtskheta, north of Tbilisi;
 2: A schematic map of Mtskheta, showing the location of the Samtavro cemetery,
 on the right bank of the Aragvi River, before it meets the Kura (Mtkvari).



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Fig. 2. 1: A horizontal time slice through Area 166, Square 7, showing potential features. The oblique line is a modern pathway, the ovals are tombs. Interpretation by Andrew Spyrou, GBG Australia 2008; 2: Rectified vertical photograph superimposed over interpreted GPR data for Area 143, Square 12. Interpretation by Andrew Spyrou, GBG Australia, 2008.

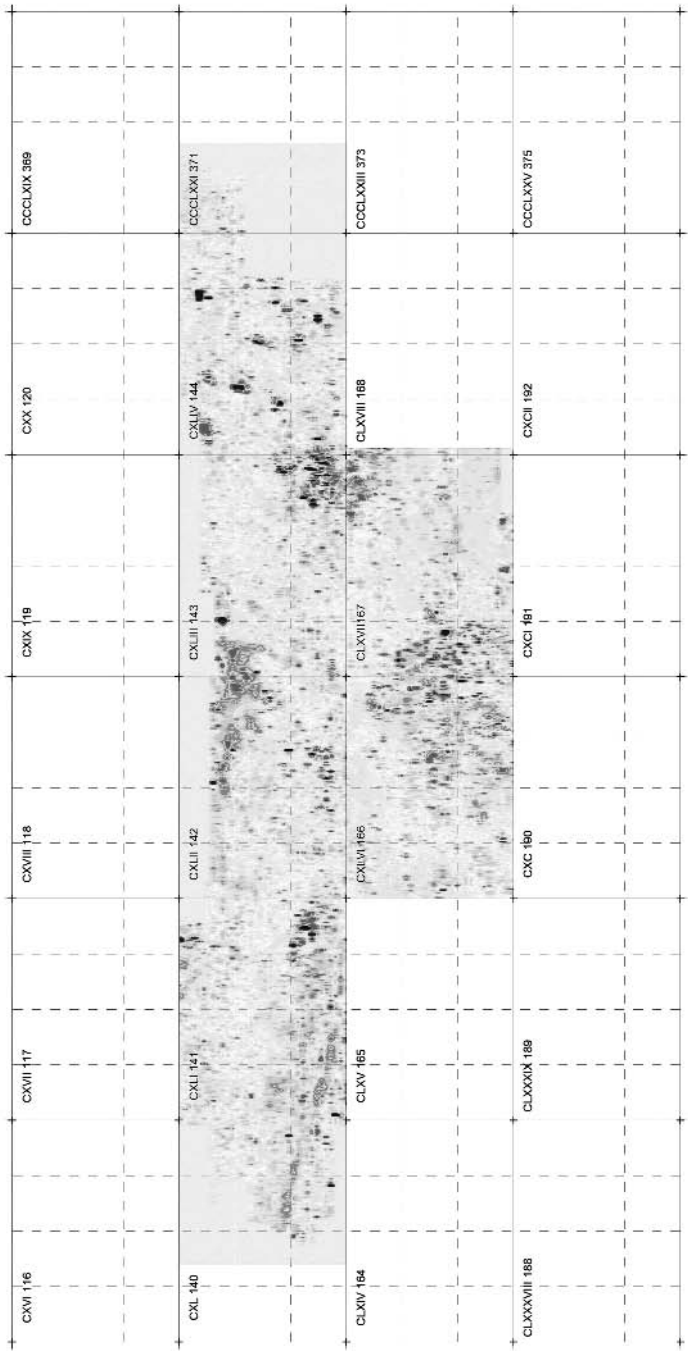


Fig. 3. Interpreted GPR data covering several areas, including 142, 143 and 166. Interpretation by Andrew Spyrou, GBG Australia, 2008.

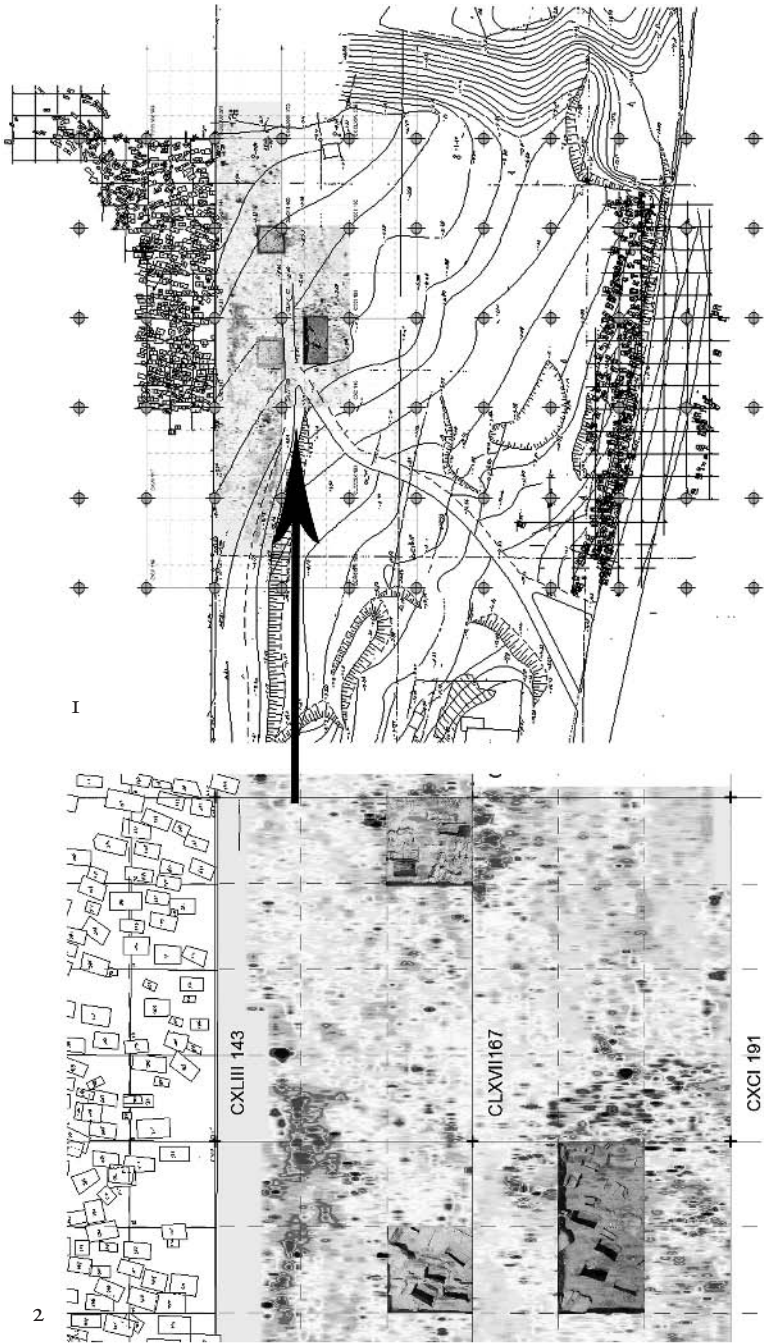


Fig. 4. 1: Image captured from ArcGIS, showing form lines from an early topographic survey, the GPR results as an image, aerial images of the new excavations and tombs uncovered during the first two seasons; 2: Image captured from ArcGIS, showing rectified aerial images of the excavation trenches, the results of the GPR survey, and previously excavated tombs from the earlier expeditions (to the left).

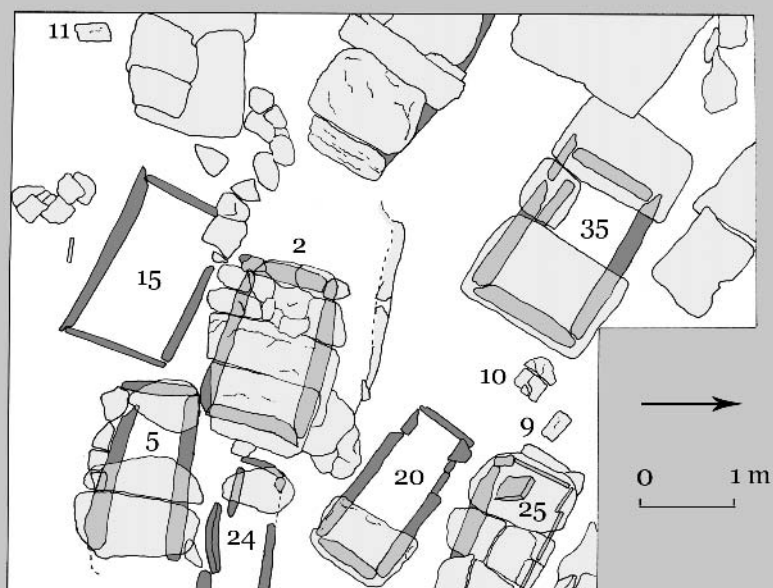


Fig. 5. Composite plan of Area 142, Square 11, showing tombs excavated and exposed during the 2008–2009 campaigns.

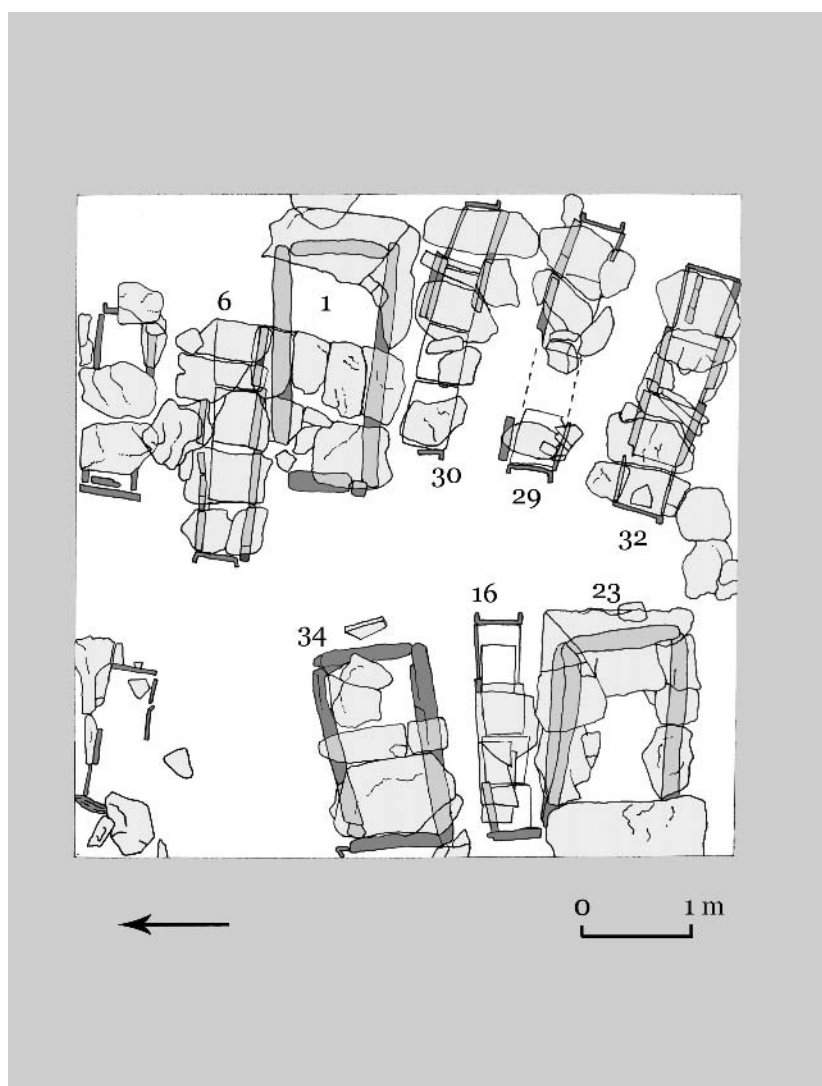


Fig. 6. Composite plan of Area 143, Square 12, showing tombs excavated and exposed during the 2008–2009 campaigns.

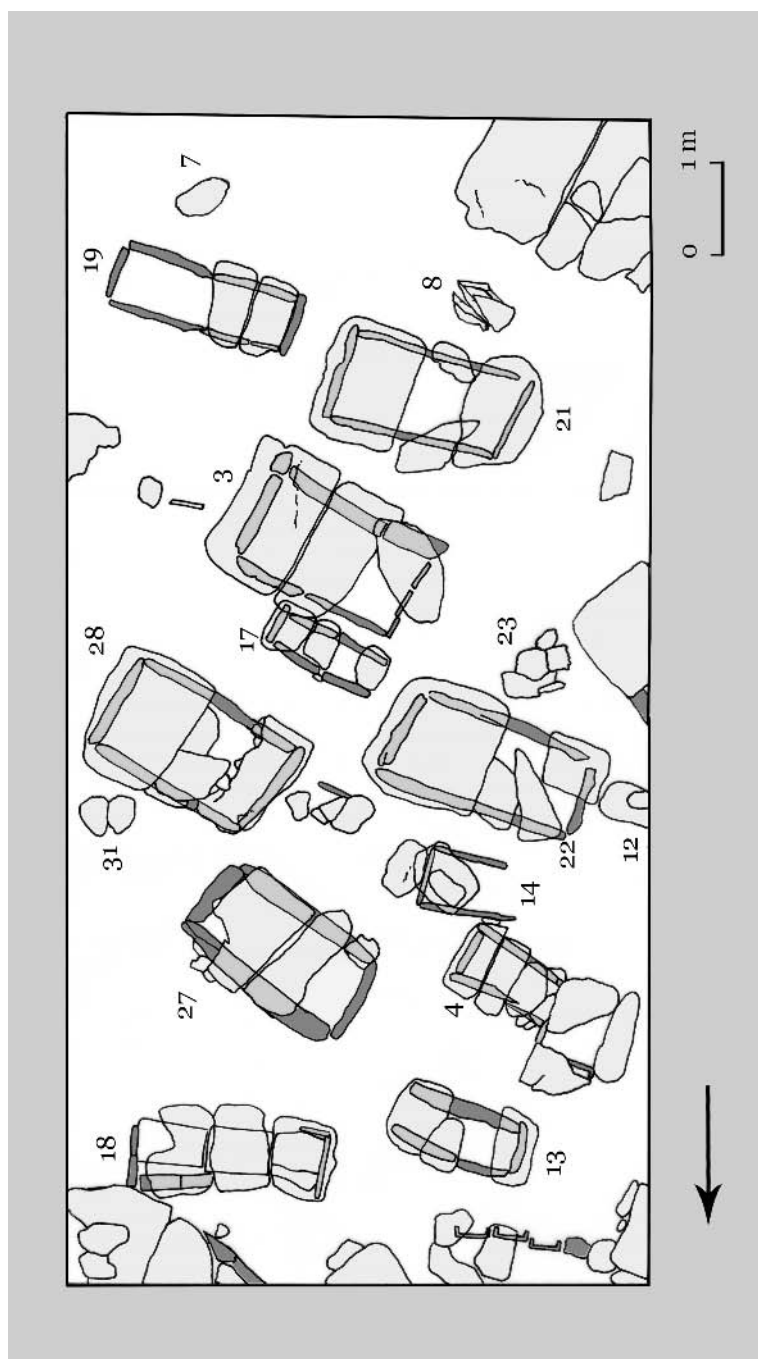


Fig. 7. Composite plan of Area 166, Squares 7 and 8, showing tombs excavated and exposed during the 2008–2009 campaigns.



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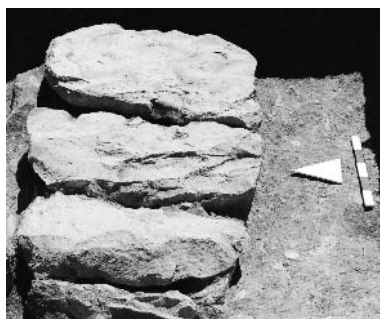


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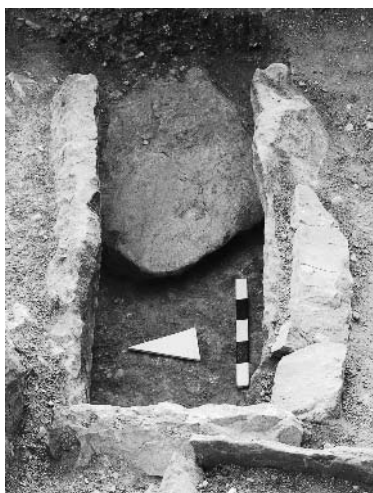
Fig. 8. 1: Aerial photograph of Area 142, Square II taken June 2008;
 2: Aerial photograph of Area 142, Square II taken July 2009. Note that the position of the platform used to take the photograph was placed at the eastern side of the trench, as opposed to the western side in Fig. 8: 1. *Cf.* North signs.



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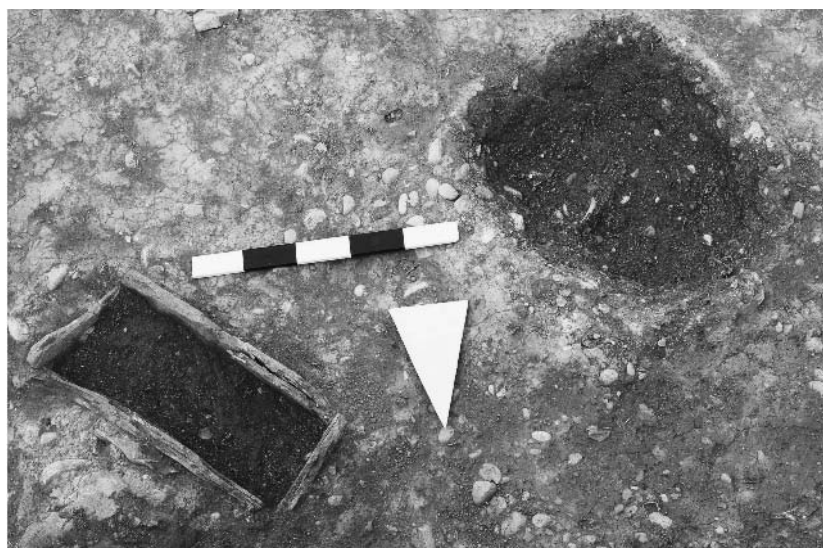
Fig. 9. 1: Tomb 2 (Area 142, Square 11) top layer of skeletal material;
2: Tomb 5 (Area 142, Square 11) with capstones; 3: Tomb 5 (Area 142, Square 11) without
capstones; 4: Tomb 15 (Area 142, Square 11).



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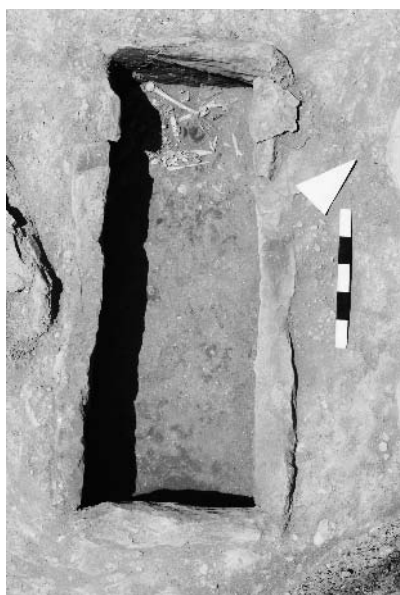


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Fig. 10. 1: Tomb 9 (Area 142, Square 11) with backfill; 2: Tomb 10 (Area 142, Square 11) with capstones; 3: Tombs 9 (left) and 10 (right) in Area 142, Square 11 excavated; 4: Tomb 11 (Area 142, Square 11).



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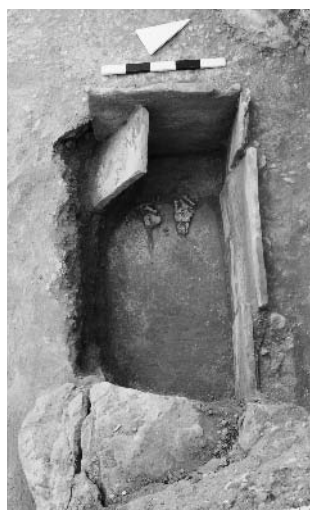
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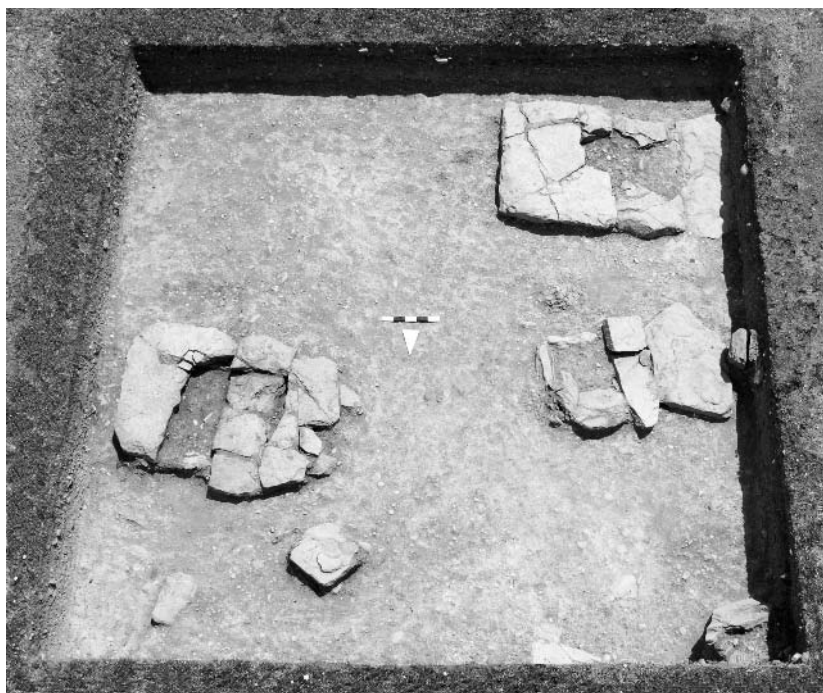


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Fig. 11. 1: Tomb 20 (Area 142, Square 11) without capstones; 2: Tomb 20 (Area 142, Square 11) with capstones; 3: Tomb 35 (Area 142, Square 11); 4: Tomb 24 (Area 142, Square 11); 5: Tomb 25 (Area 142, Square 11).



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Fig. 12. 1: Area 143, Square 12 shortly after the beginning of excavations. The tops of Tombs 1 (left), 23 (right corner) and 34 (right) are exposed; 2: Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12) with capstones removed and Tomb 6 with capstones in place.



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Fig. 13. 1: Area 143, Square 12 at the end of the 2008 season, showing Tomb 1 fully excavated and Tomb 6 with skeleton exposed; 2: Area 143, Square 12 shortly after the beginning of the 2009 season.



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Fig. 14. 1: Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12), showing the arrangement of the skull and long bones; 2: Skull from Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12) with a glass bottle placed underneath; 3: Aerial view of Tomb 6 (Area 143, Square 12), showing the exposed skeleton.



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Fig. 15. 1 & 2: Tomb 16 (Area 143, Square 12) before and after the removal of collapsed tiles; 3 & 4: Tomb 23 (Area 143, Square 12), showing the arrangement of bones at different levels.



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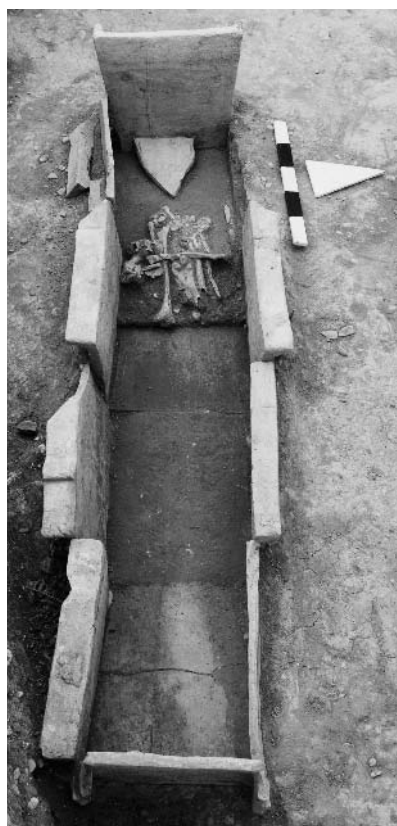


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Fig. 16. 1 & 2: Tomb 29 (Area 143, Square 12) before the exposure of skeletal remains and after their exposure; 3 & 4: Tomb 30 (Area 143, Square 12) before the exposure of skeletal remains and after their exposure.



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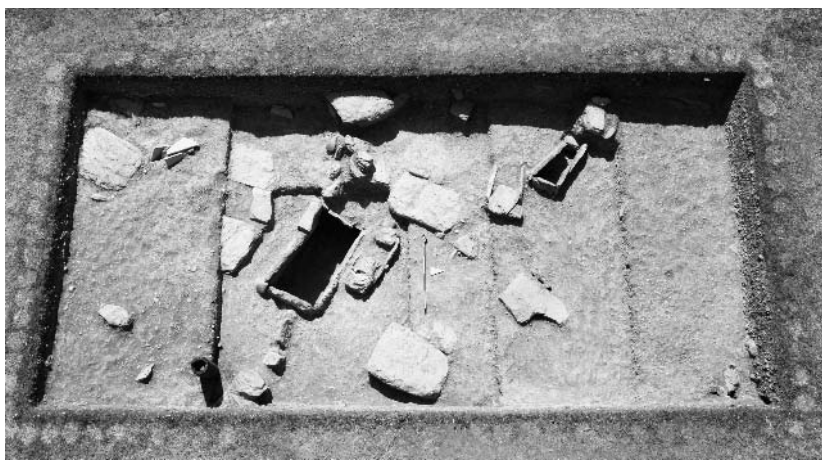


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Fig. 17. 1 & 2: Tomb 32 (Area 143, Square 12), showing different clusters of bones;
3 & 4: Tomb 34 (Area 143, Square 12) with capstones removed and with capstones in place.

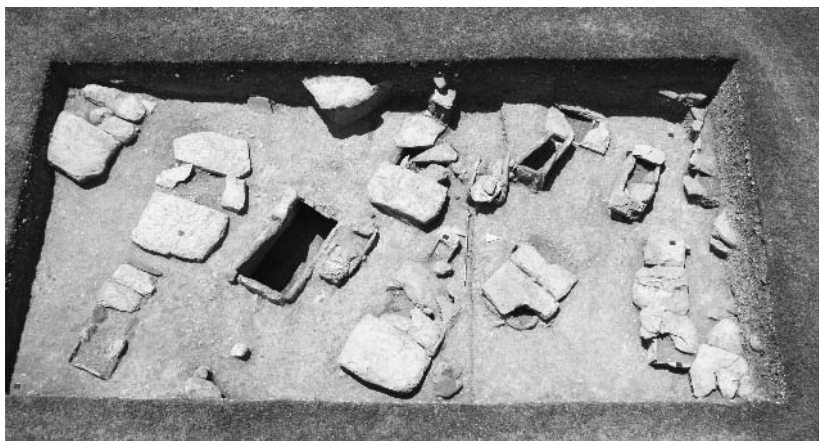


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Fig. 18. 1: Area 166, Squares 7 (left) and 8 (right) at the end of the 2008 season;
2: Area 166, Squares 7 and 8 shortly after the beginning of the 2009 season.
Note that north is to the right, whereas in the above image it is to the left.



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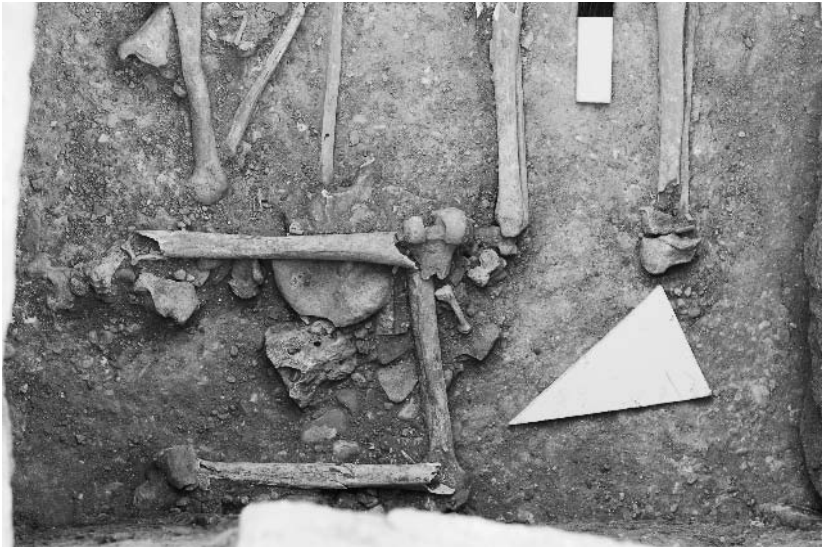


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Fig. 19. 1: Area 166, Squares 7 and 8 midway through the 2009 season;
2: Area 166, Squares 7 and 8 at the end of the 2009 season.



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Fig. 20. 1 & 2: Tomb 3 (Area 166, Square 7), showing the deliberately arranged bones.



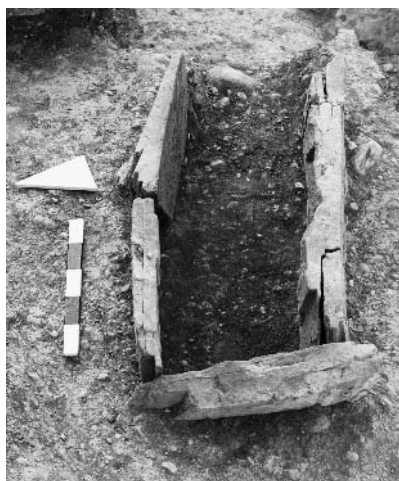
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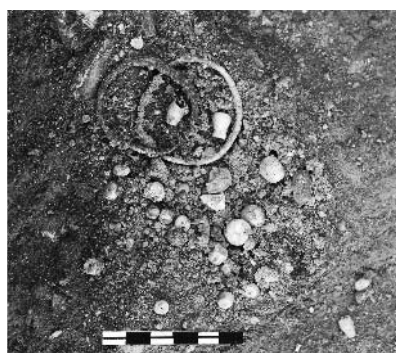
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Fig. 21. 1: Tomb 7 (Area 166, Square 7); 2 & 3: Tomb 8 (Area 166, Square 7); 4: Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8); 5: Grave goods from Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8).



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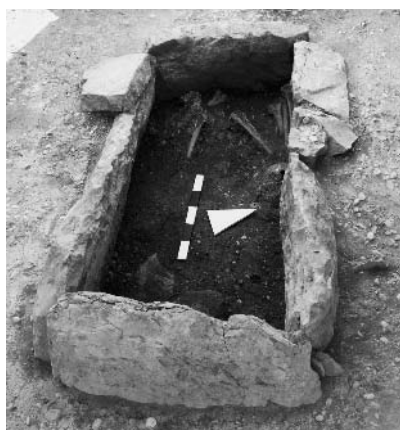
Fig. 22. 1: Tomb 14 (Area 166, Square 8); 2: Tomb 17 (Area 166, Square 7); 3: Tomb 18 (Area 166, Square 8) with back fill; 4: Tomb 18 (Area 166, Square 8) with skeleton exposed.



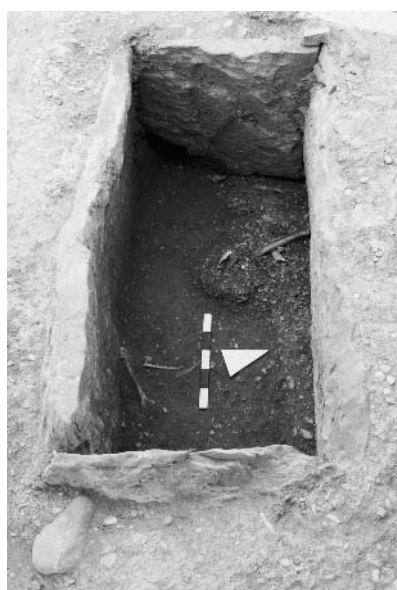
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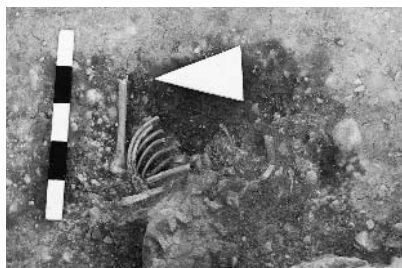
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Fig. 23. 1: Tomb 19 (Area 166, Square 7); 2: Tomb 26 (Area 166, Square 8) with capstones;
3: Tomb 27 (Area 166, Square 8); 4: Tomb 28 (Area 166, Square 8);
5: Tomb 31 (Area 166, Square 8); 6: Tomb 33 (Area 166, Square 8).



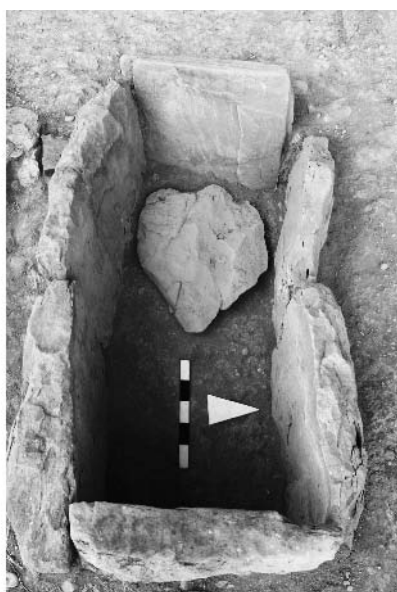
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Fig. 24. 1. Tomb 36 (Area 118) clay sarcophagus, showing collapsed roof;
 2. Tomb 36 (Area 118) clay sarcophagus with collapsed roof removed; 3 Tomb 417 (Area 118);
 4. Tomb 512 (Area 118) was excavated during the Samtvaro III campaigns.



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Fig. 25. 1. Archival photograph, showing the large building in Area 118 with *in situ* roof tiles. The building was partially excavated in the 1980s; 2: The large building in Area 118 showing the clay central hearth, carbonized remains (roof collapse and wooden features) to the right of the hearth, and stone cist tombs that have cut the building post-destruction.



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Fig. 26. 1. Edged roof tiles (*tegulae*) in situ in Area 118; 2. Clay bin in the north-western corner of the large building; 3. The stone foundations of the western side of the large building cut by a later stone cist tomb; 4. Aerial view of the centre of building 118, with hearth emerging; 5. Room 3 of the large building, showing powdery grey matrix on the floor, a later pit cut into the west wall, and a stone cist tomb that cut the pit and the later during the fifth century AD; 6. Burnt roof debris from the floor of Area 118; 7. Carbonised branch from burnt roof debris from the floor of Area 118.

Tomb 1

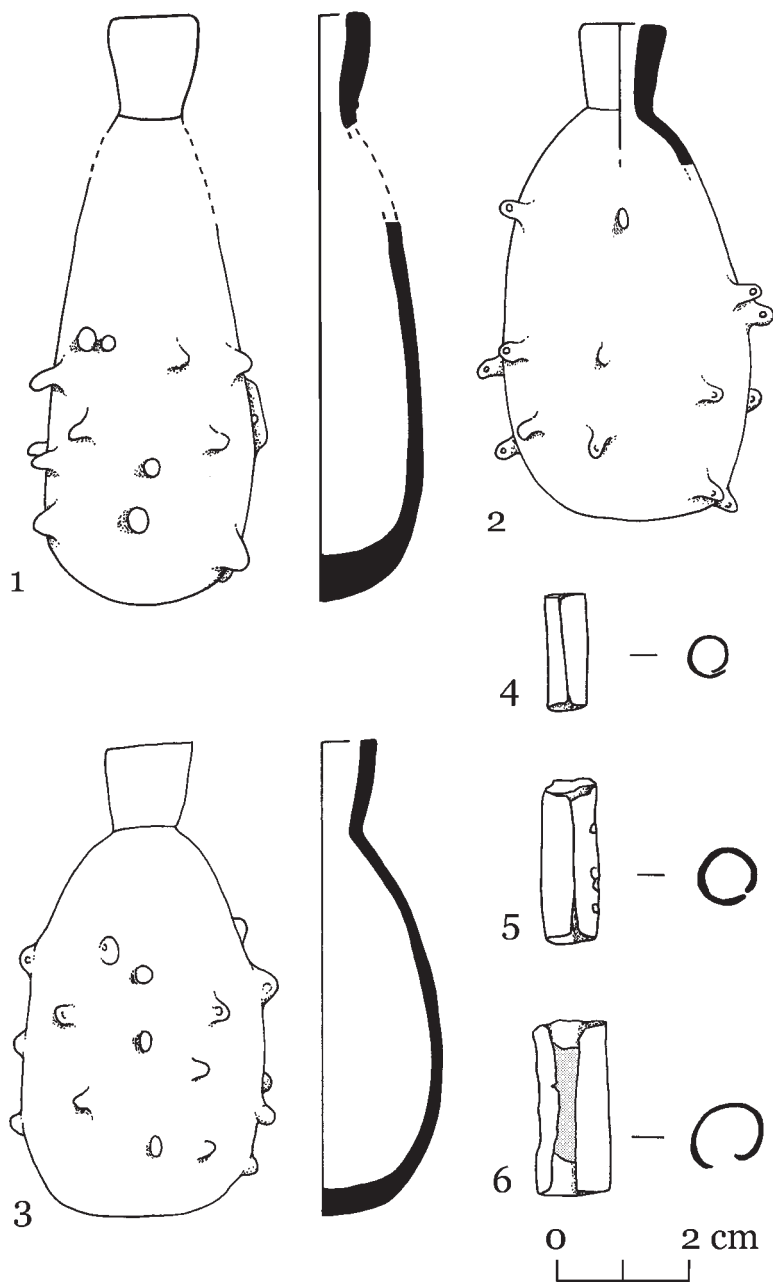


Fig. 27. Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods.

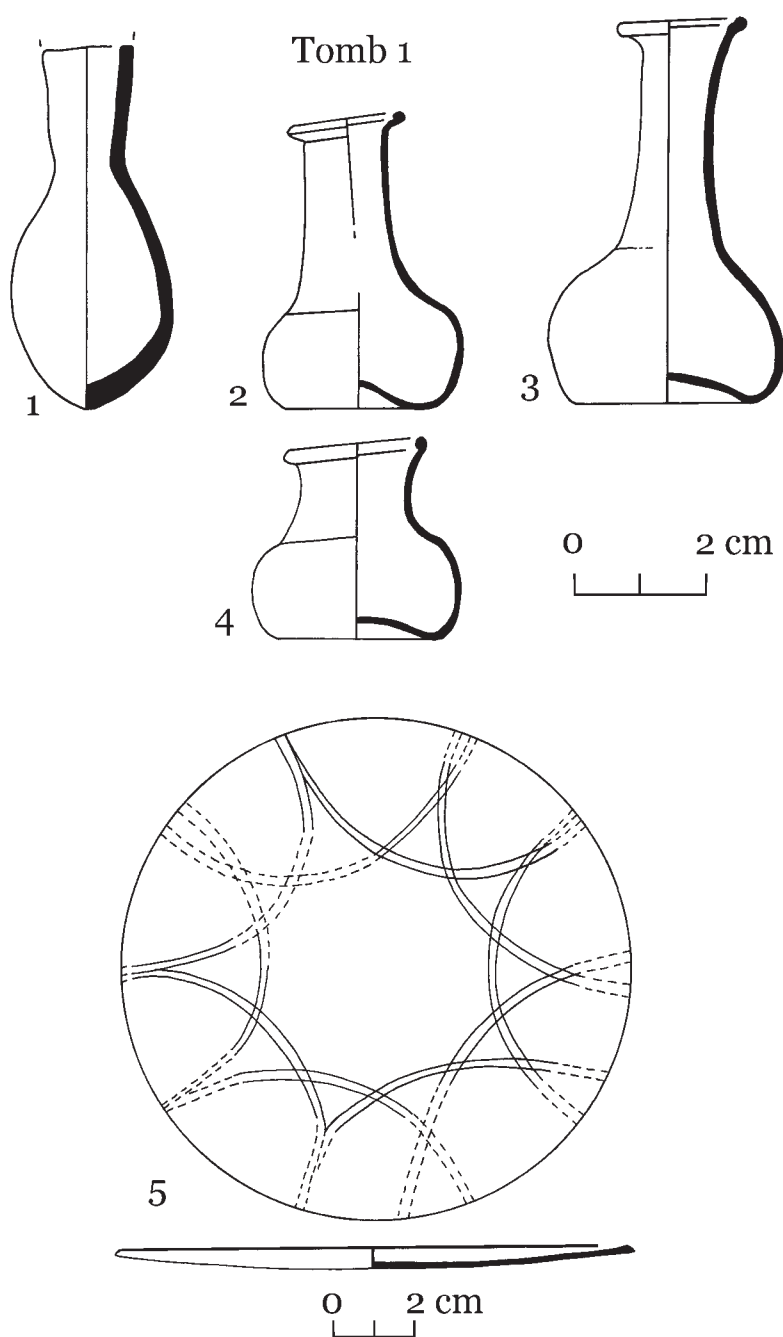
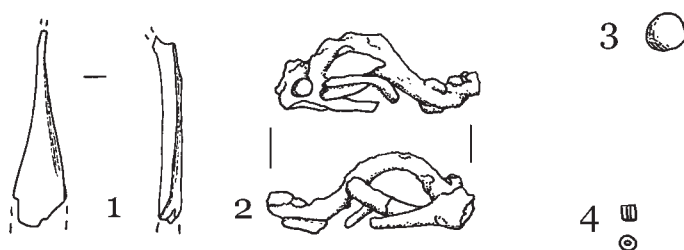


Fig. 28. Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods.

Tomb 1



Tomb 2

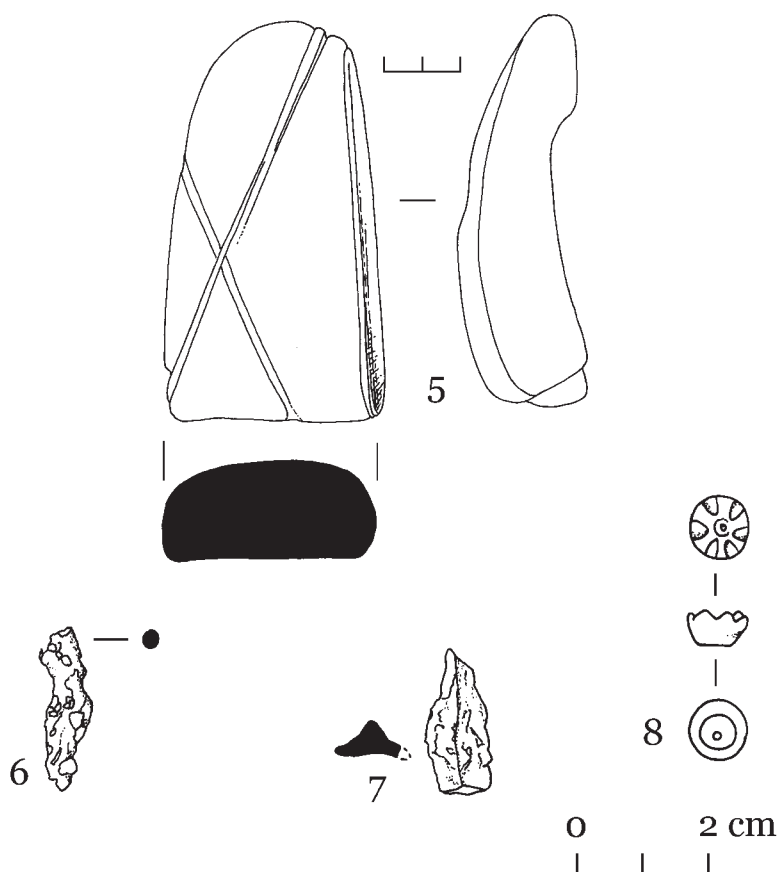


Fig. 29. 1–4: Tomb 1 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods;
5–8 Tomb 2 (Area 142, Square 11) grave goods.

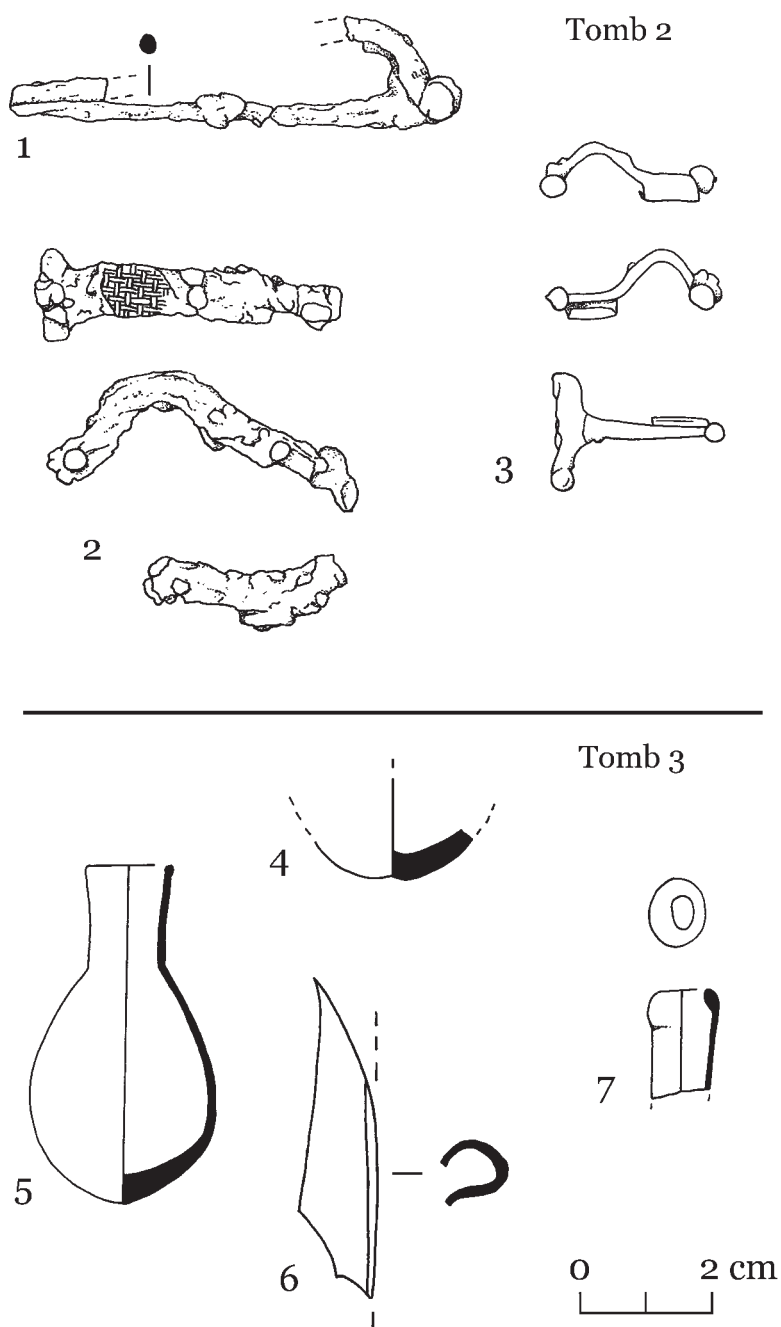


Fig. 30. 1-3 Tomb 2 (Area 142, Square 11) grave goods;
5-7 Tomb 3 (Area 166, Square 7) grave goods.

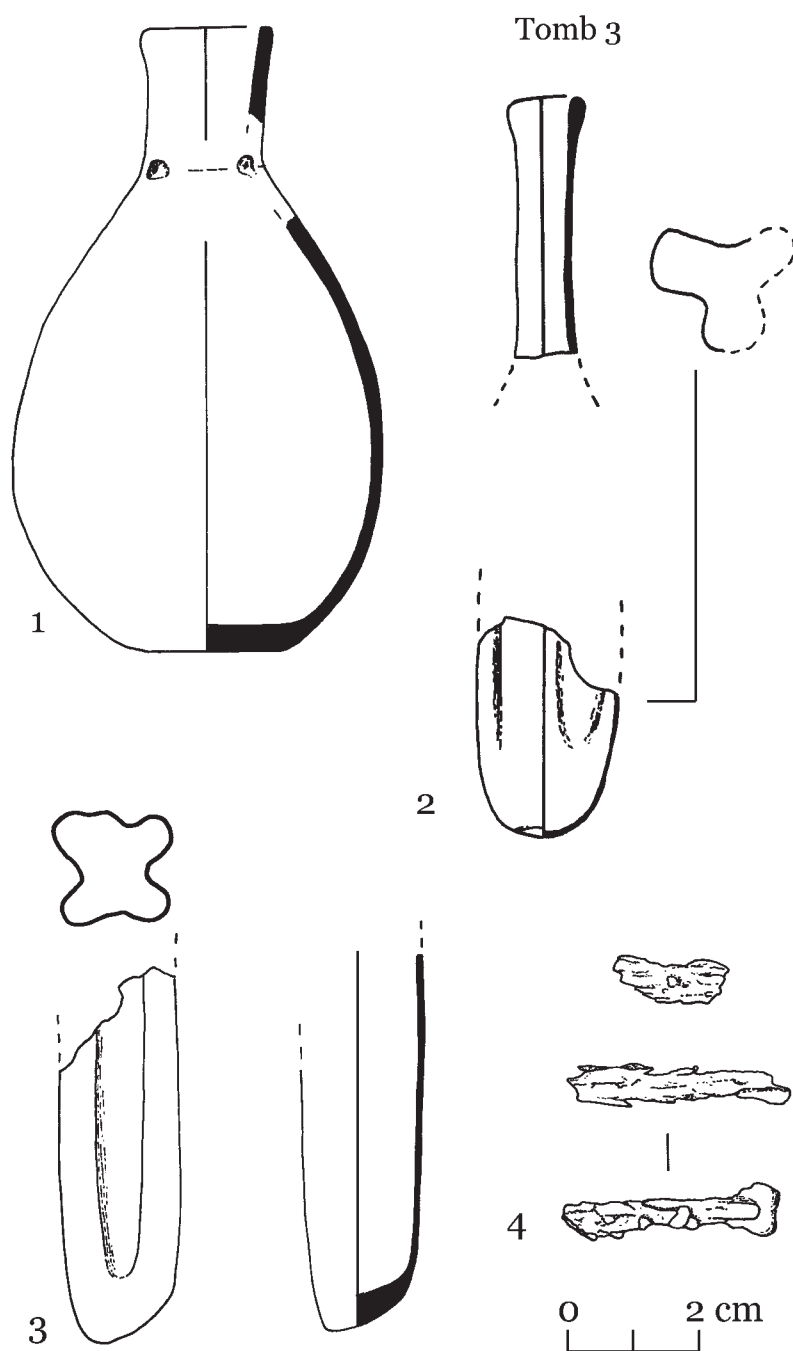


Fig. 31. Tomb 3 (Area 166, Square 7) grave goods.

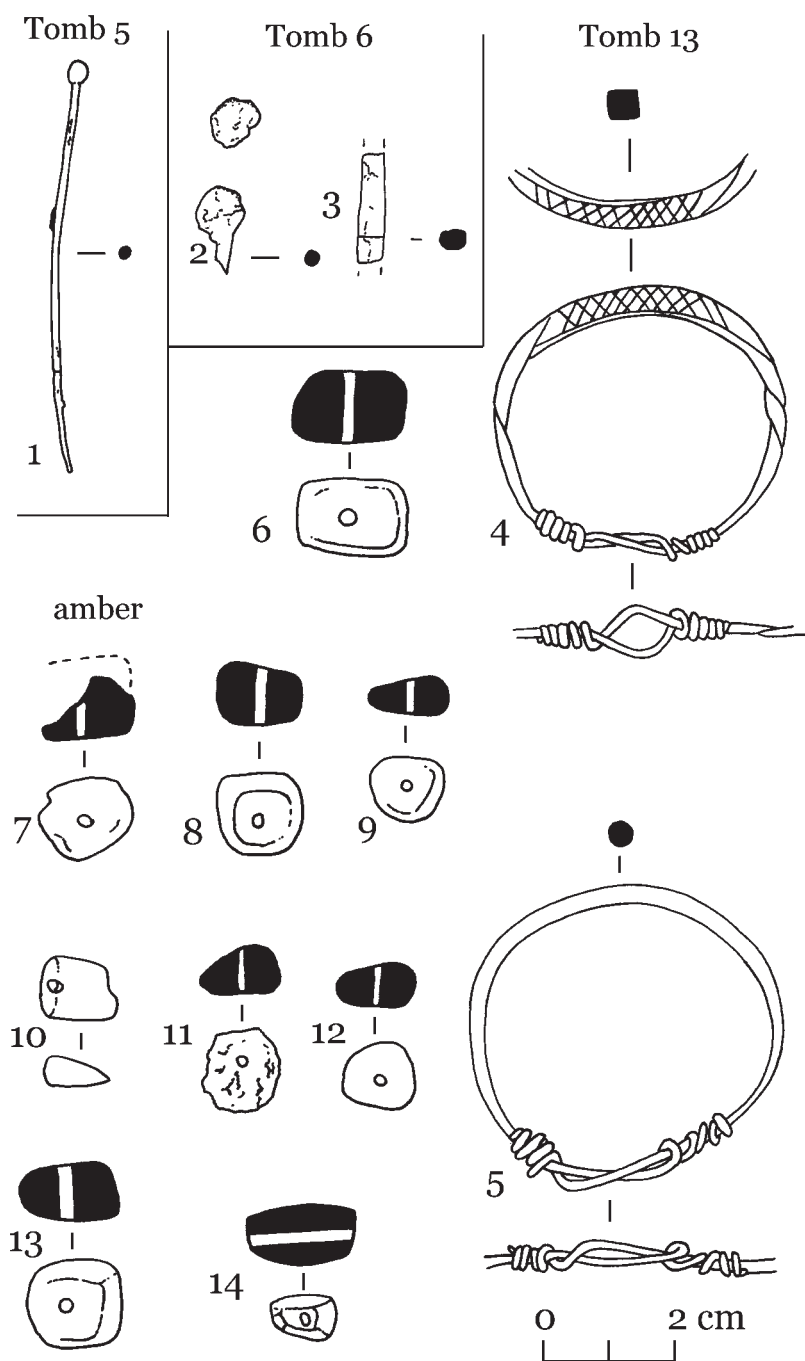


Fig. 32. 1: Tomb 5 (Area 142, Square 11) grave find; 2-3: Tomb 6 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods; 4-14: Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

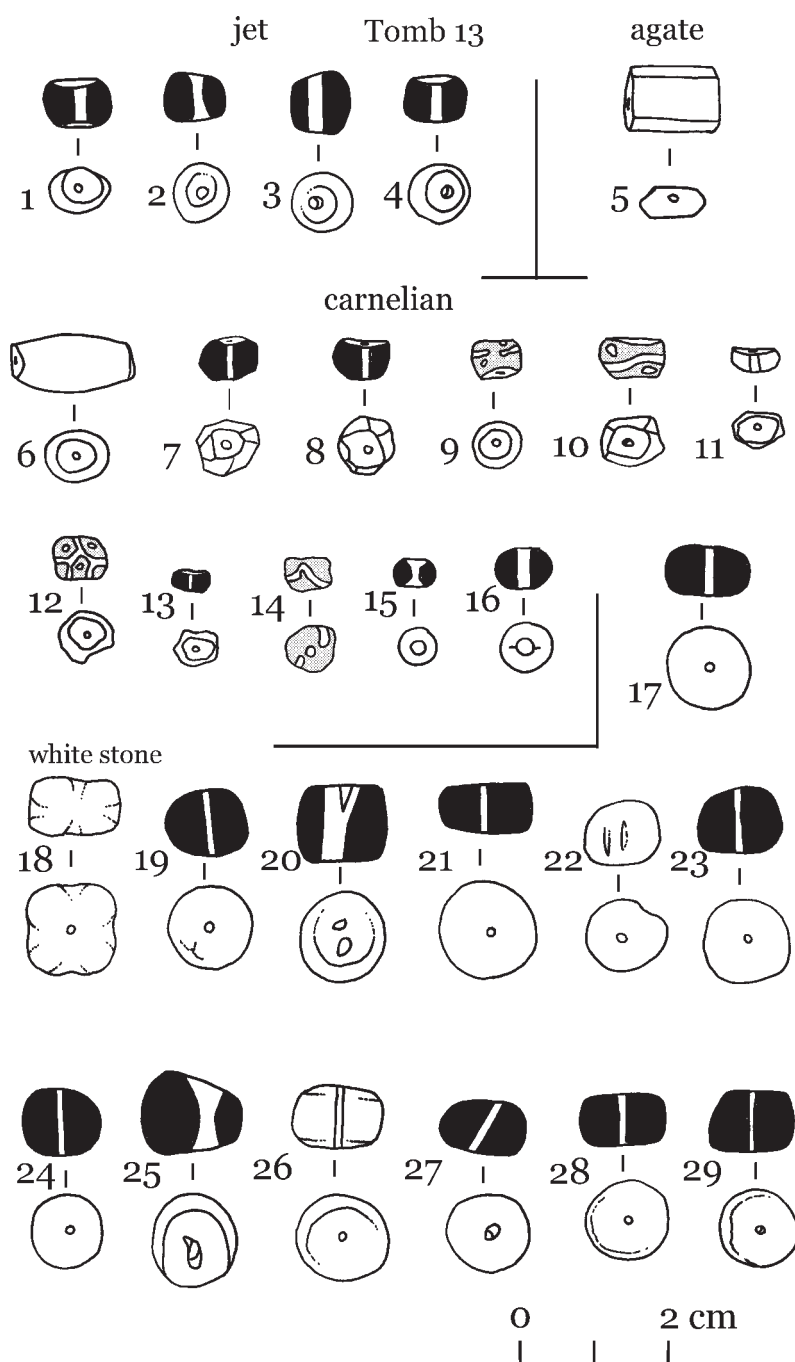


Fig. 33. Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

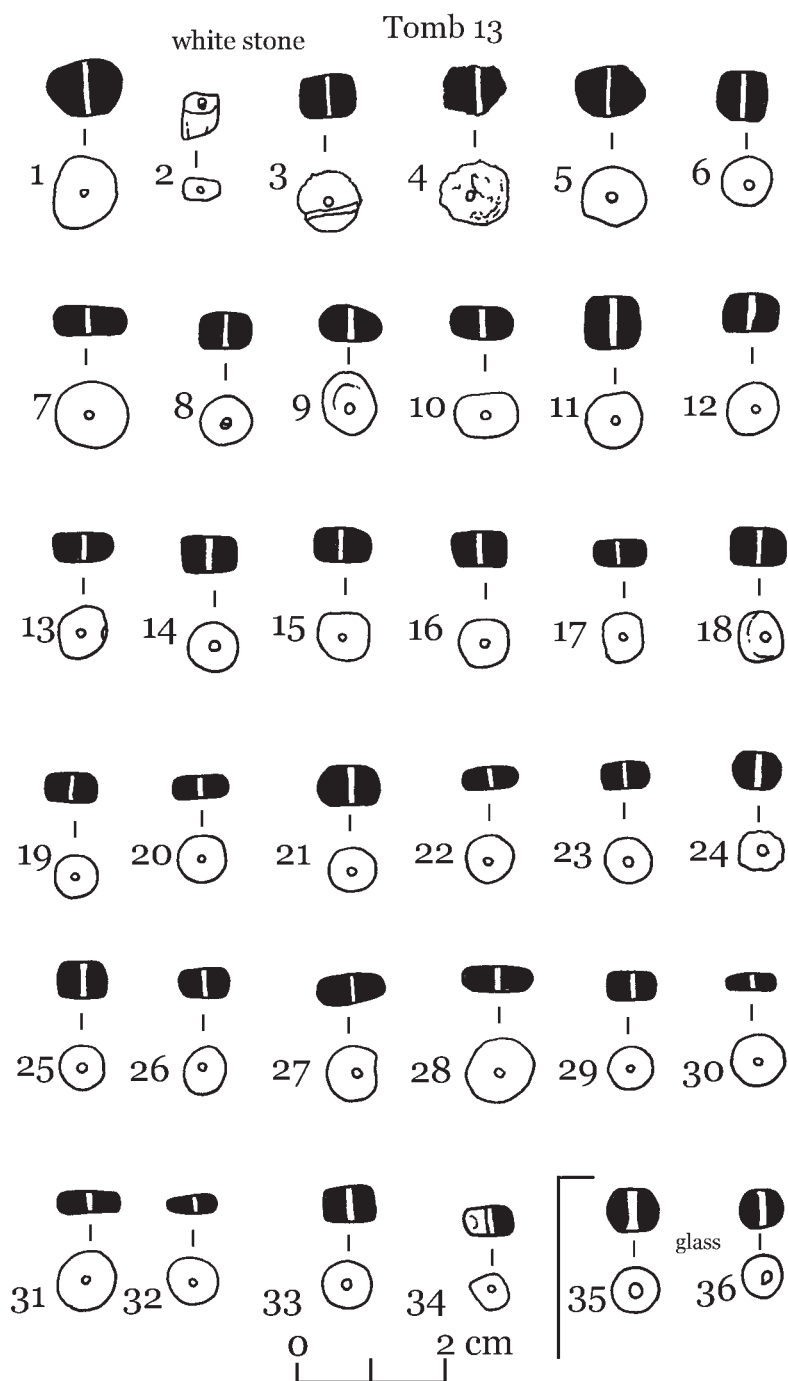


Fig. 34. Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

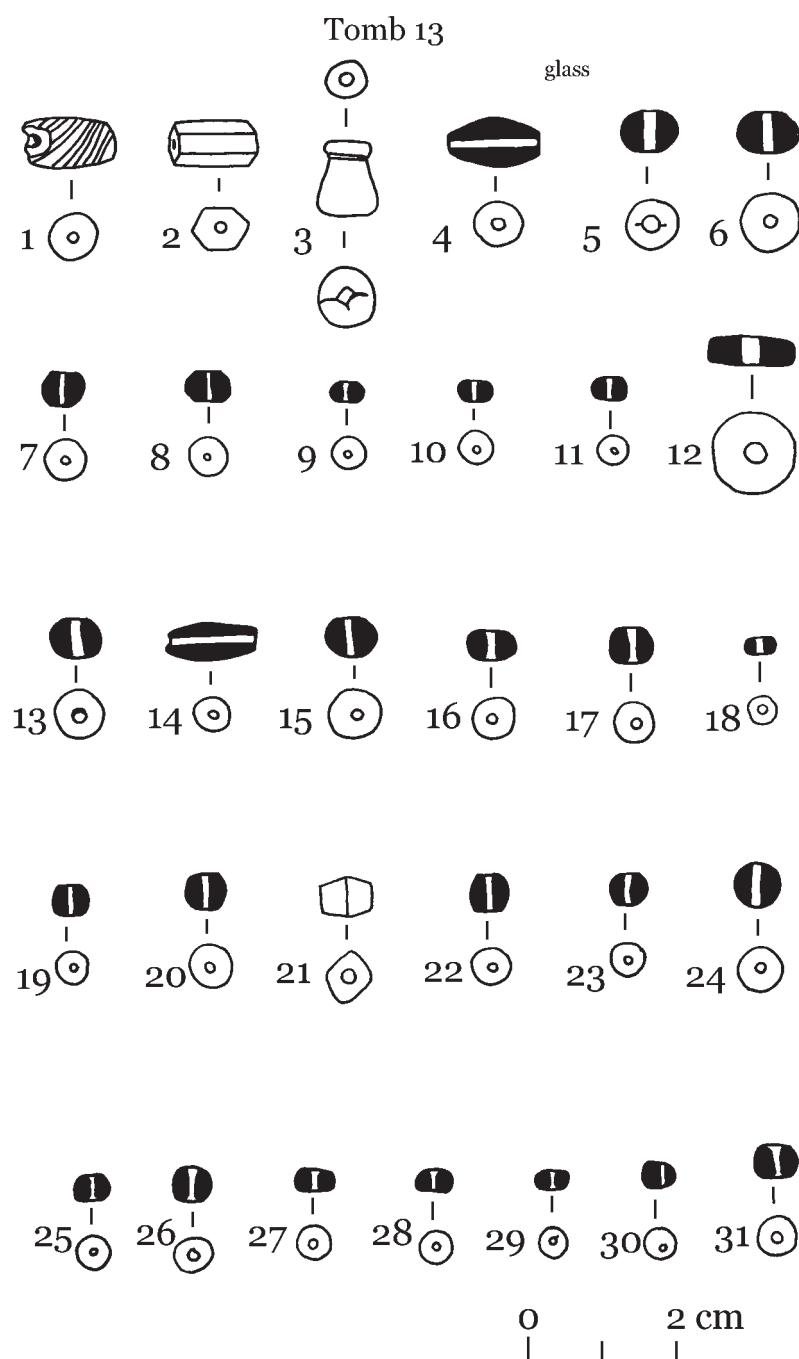


Fig. 35. Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

Tomb 13

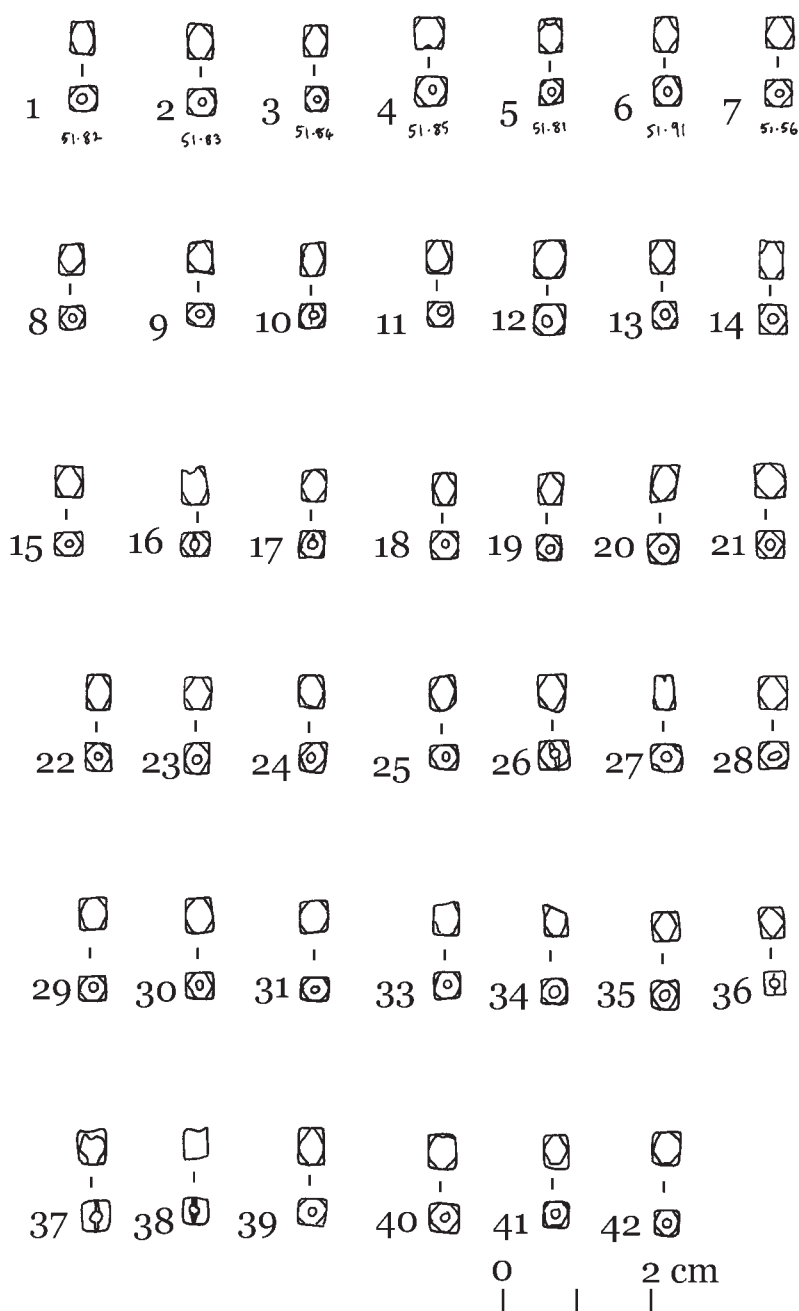


Fig. 36. Tomb 13 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

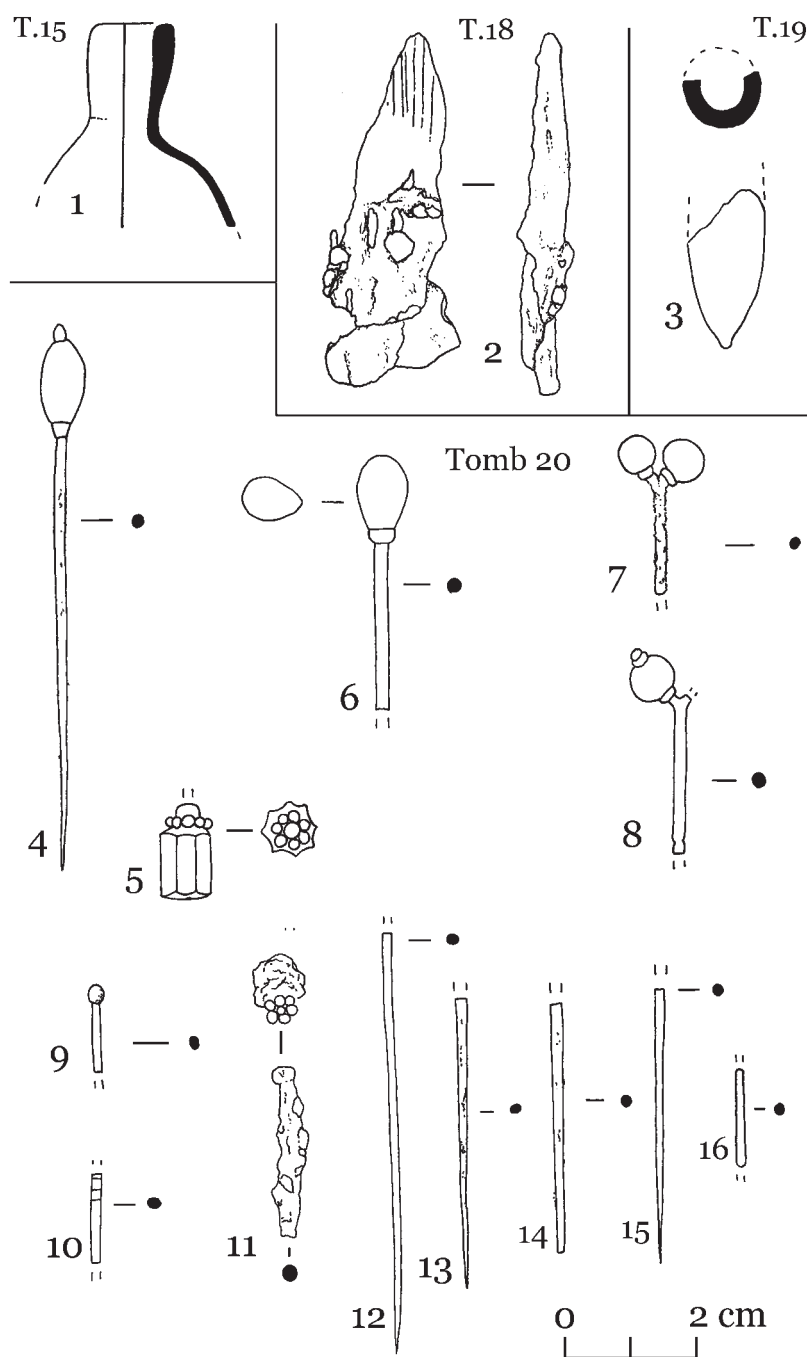


Fig. 37. 1: Tomb 15 (Area 142, Square 11) grave find; 2: Tomb 18 (Area 166, Square 8) grave find; 3: Tomb 19 (Area 166, Square 7) grave goods; 4–16: Tomb 20 (Area 142, Square 11) grave goods.

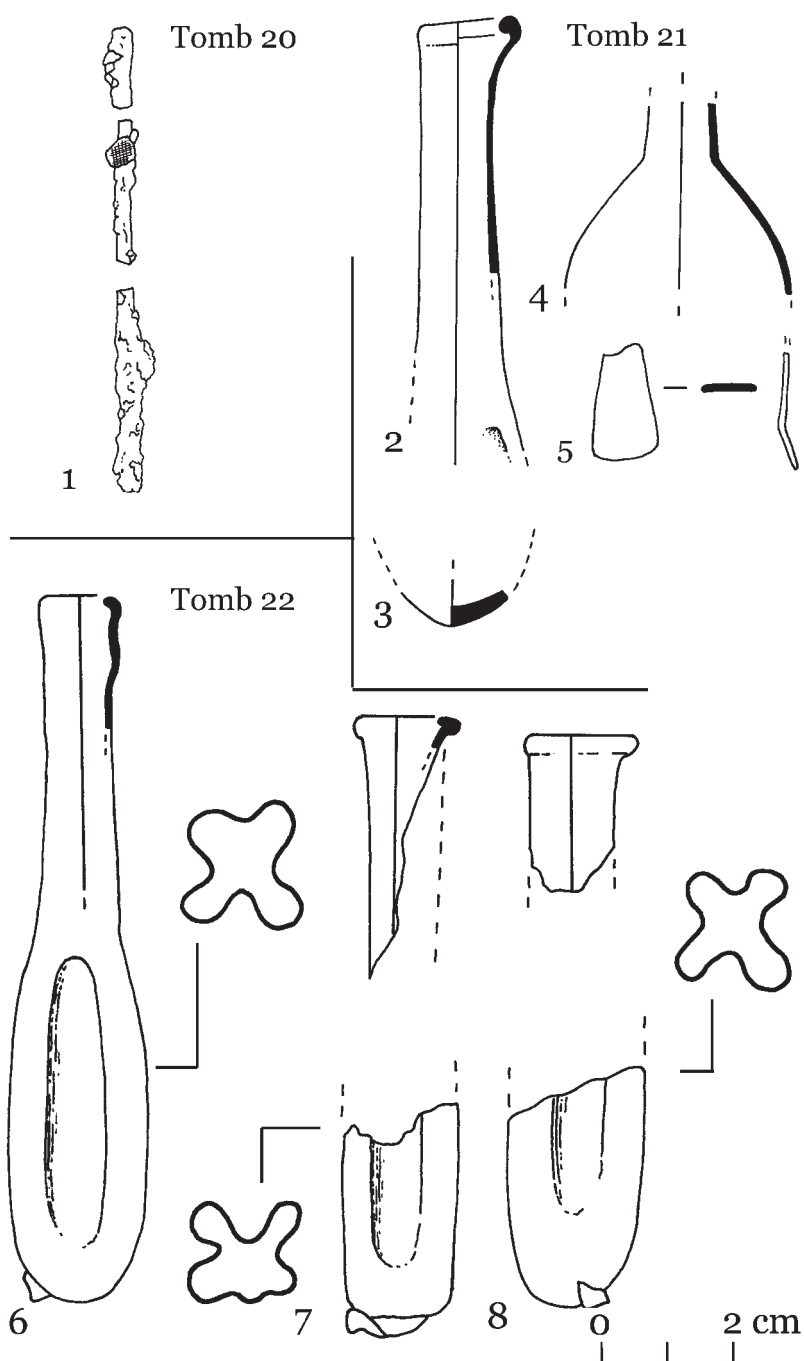


Fig. 38. 1: Tomb 20 (Area 142, Square 11) grave find; 2-5: Tomb 21 (Area 166, Square 7) grave goods; 6-8 Tomb 22 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

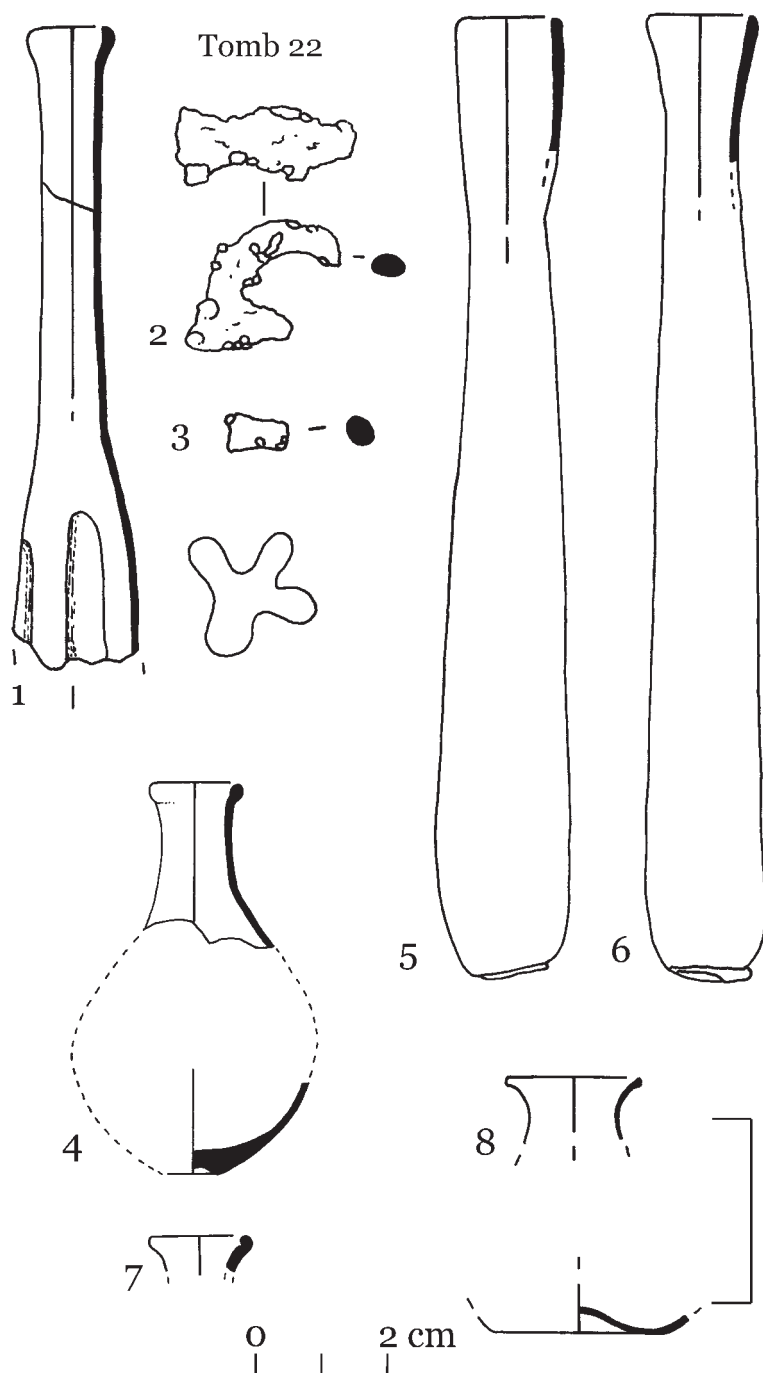


Fig. 39. Tomb 22 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

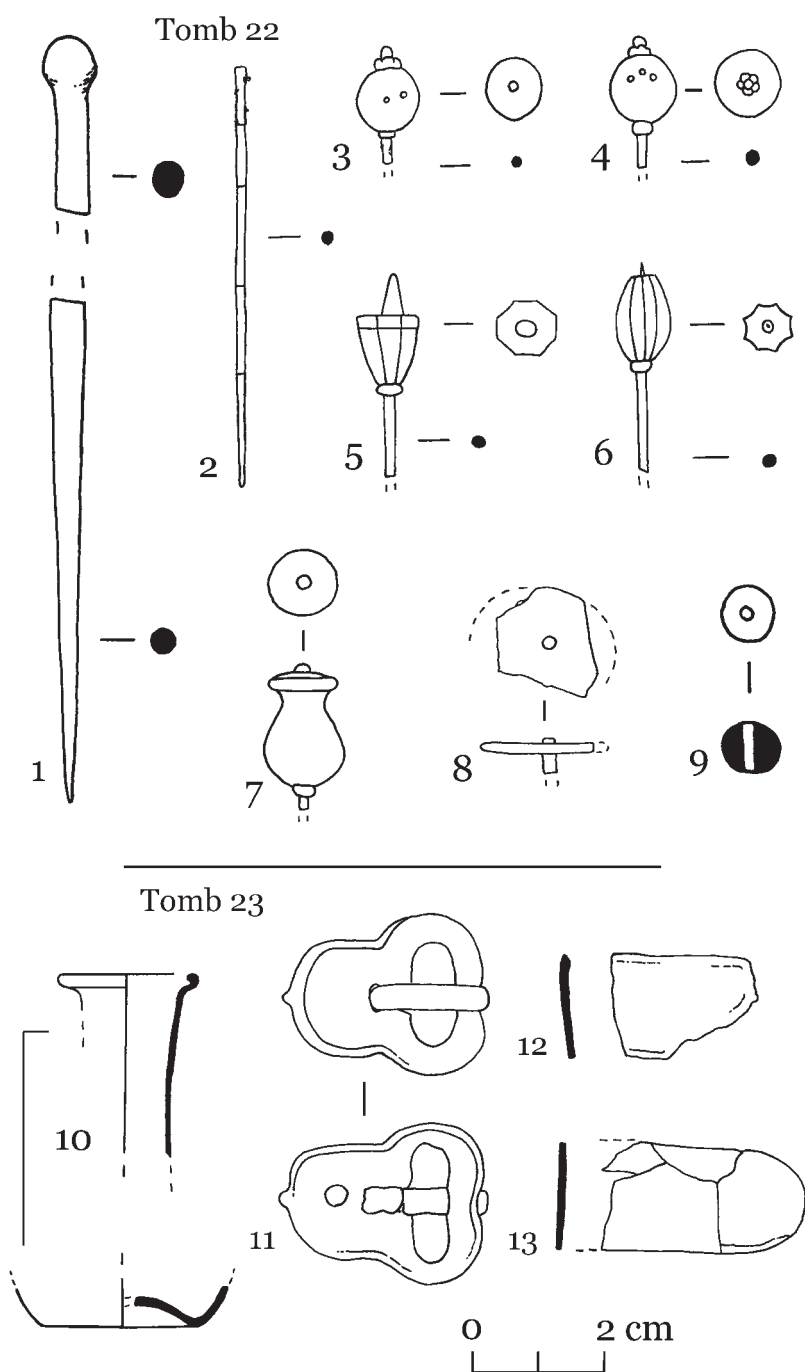


Fig. 40. 1-9: Tomb 22 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods; 10-13: Tomb 23 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods.

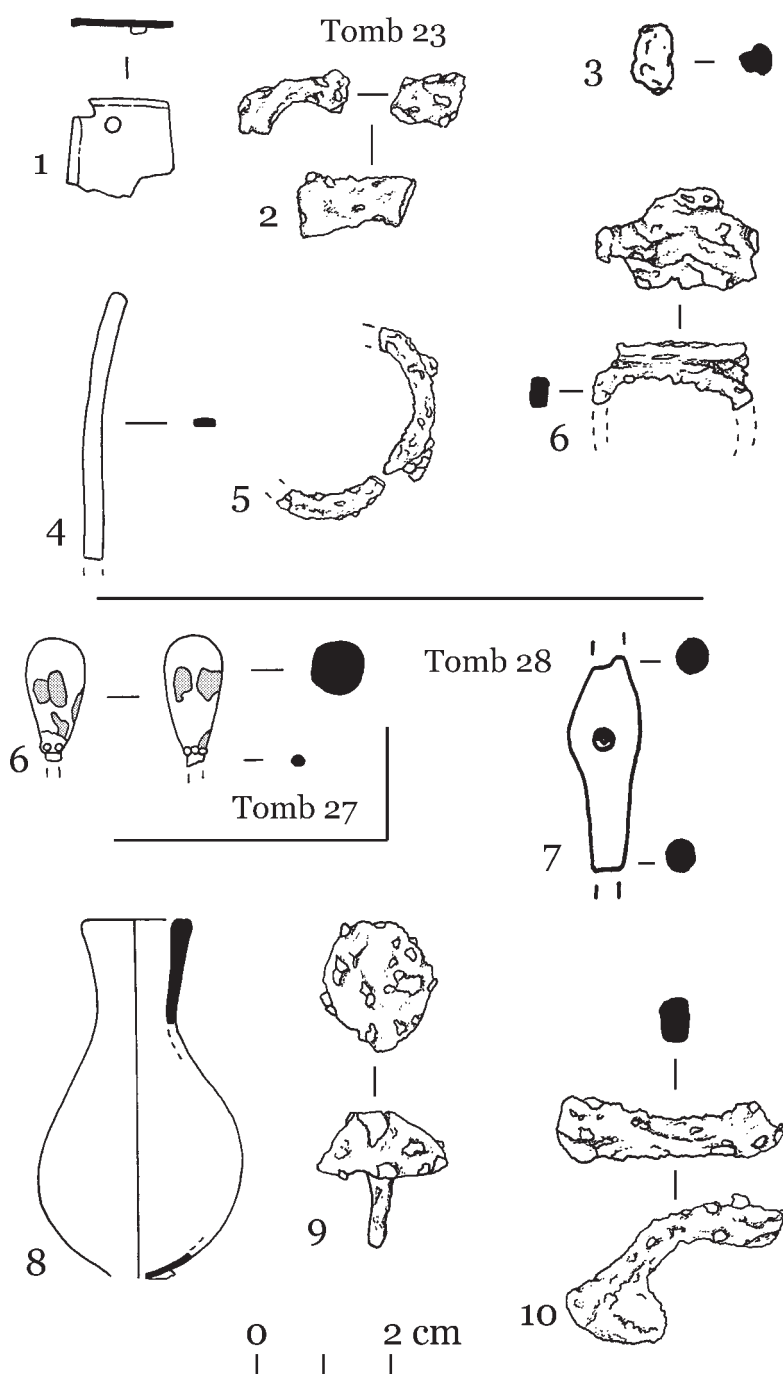


Fig. 41. 1–5: Tomb 23 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods; 6: Tomb 27 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods; 7–10 Tomb 28 (Area 166, Square 8) grave goods.

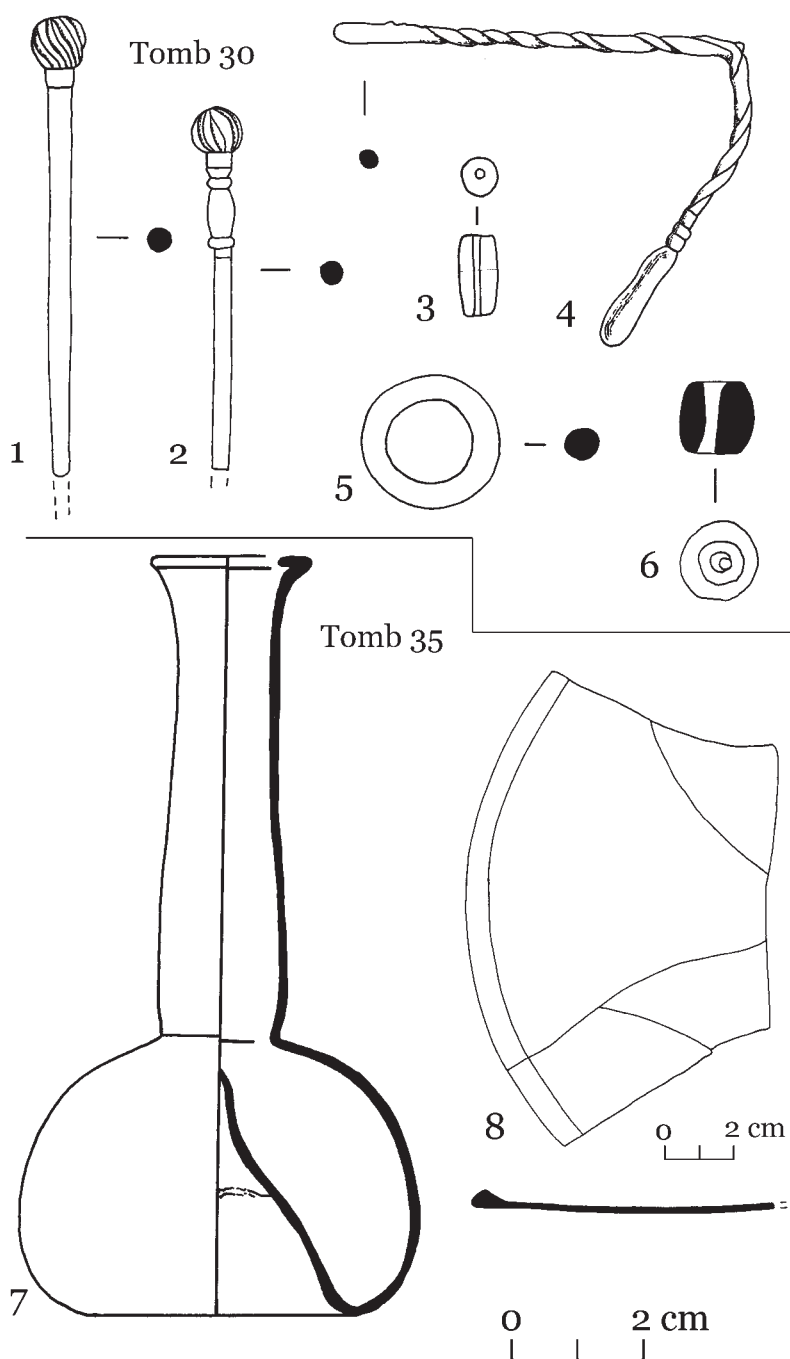


Fig. 42. 1–6: Tomb 30 (Area 143, Square 12) grave goods;
7–8: Tomb 35 (Area 142, Square 11) grave goods.

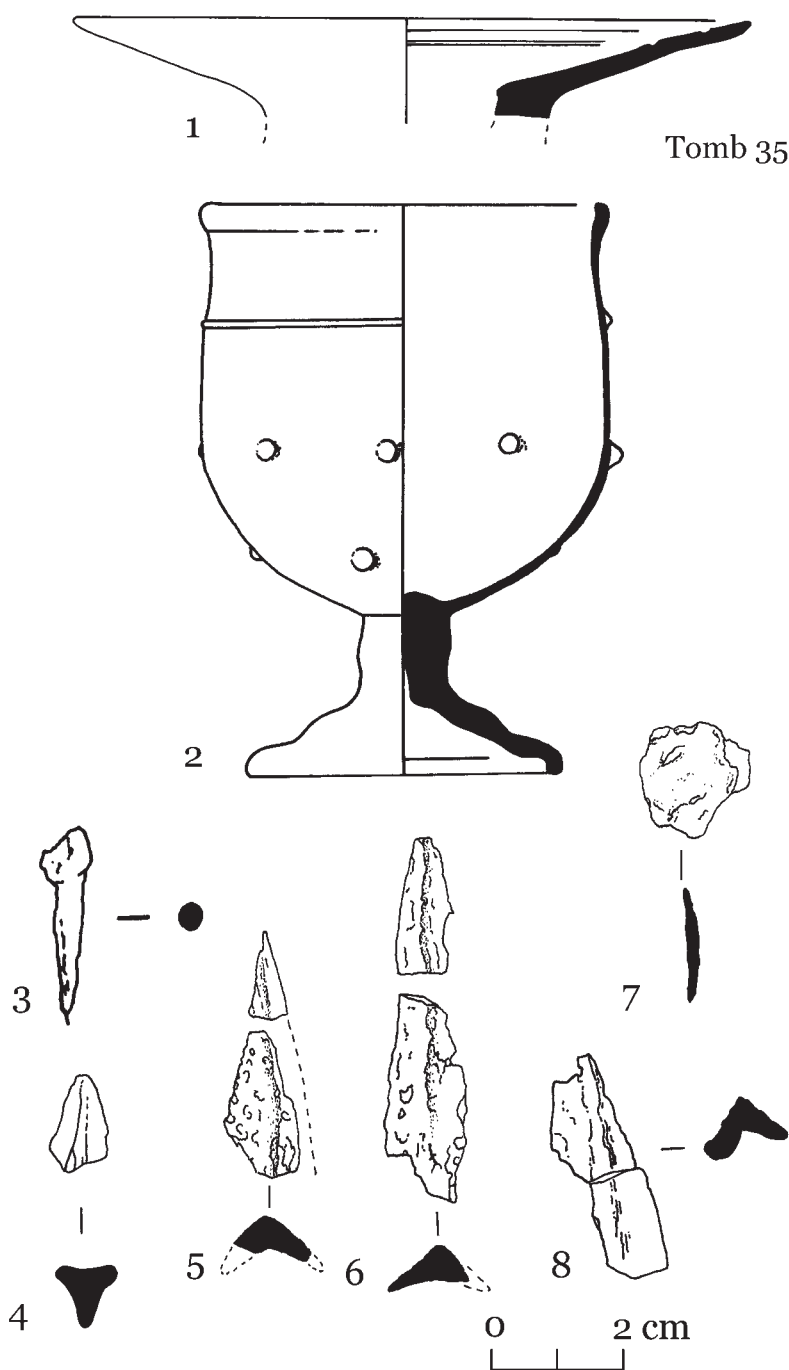


Fig. 43. Tomb 35 (Area 142, Square 11) grave goods.

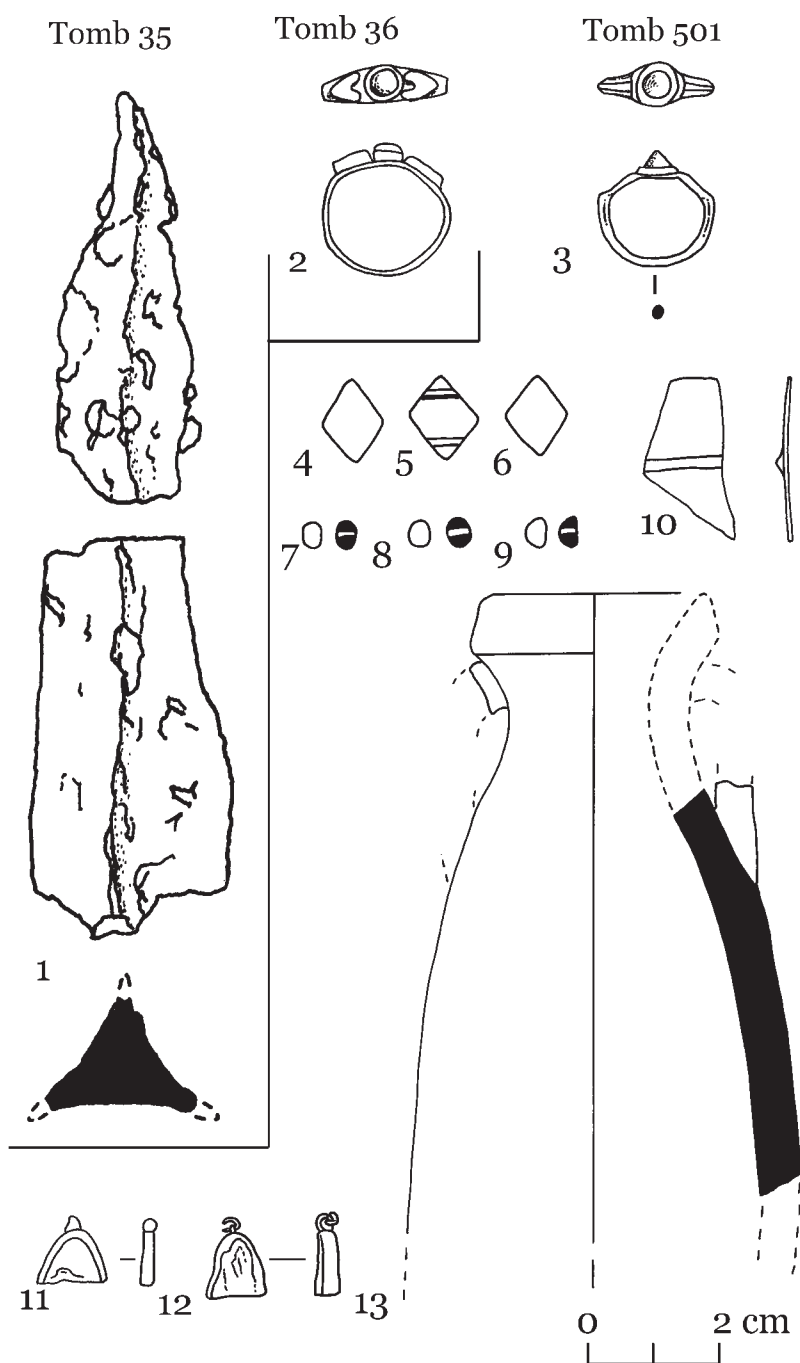


Fig. 44. 1: Tomb 35 (Area 142, Square 11) grave find; 2: Tomb 36 (Area 118) grave find; 3-13 Tomb 501 (Area 118) grave goods.

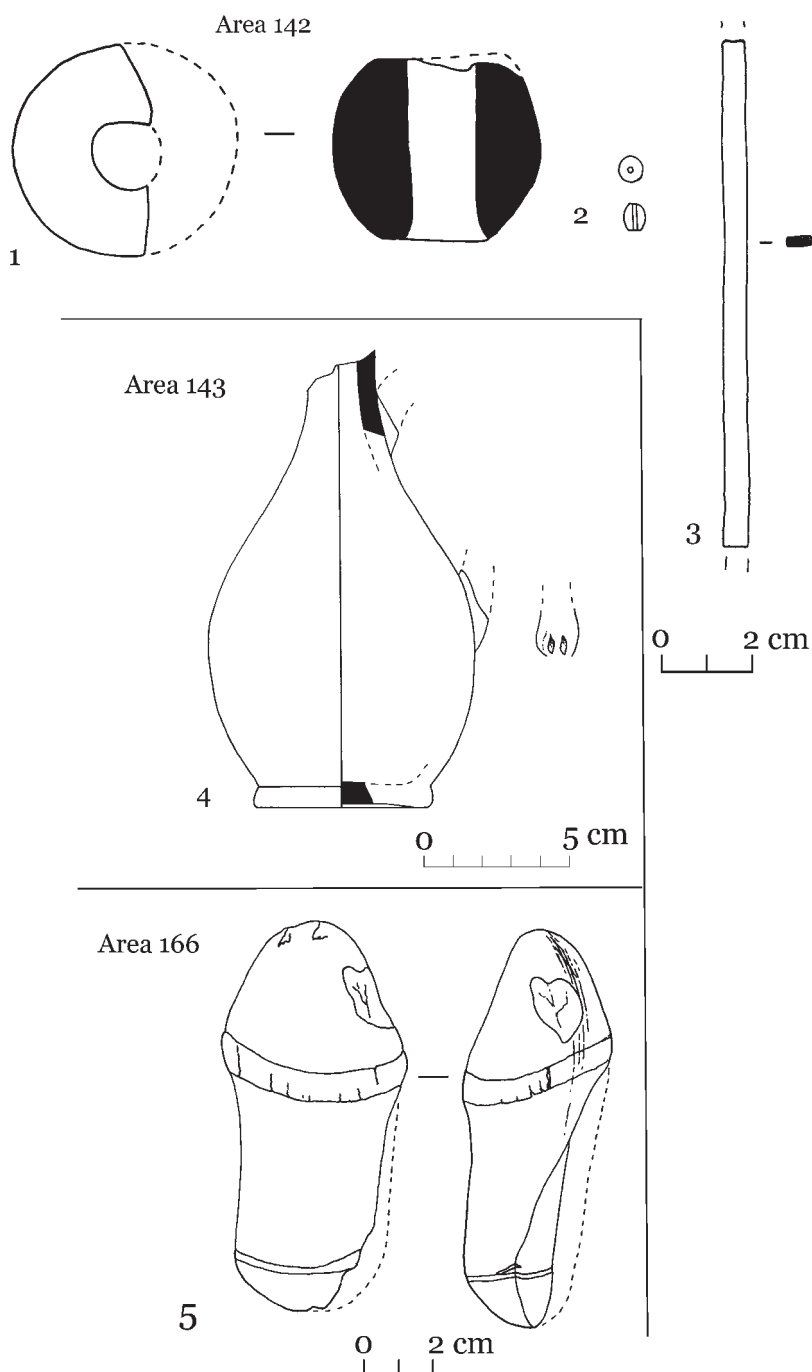


Fig. 45. 1–3: Artefacts from Area 142, Square 11; 4: Artefact from Area 166.

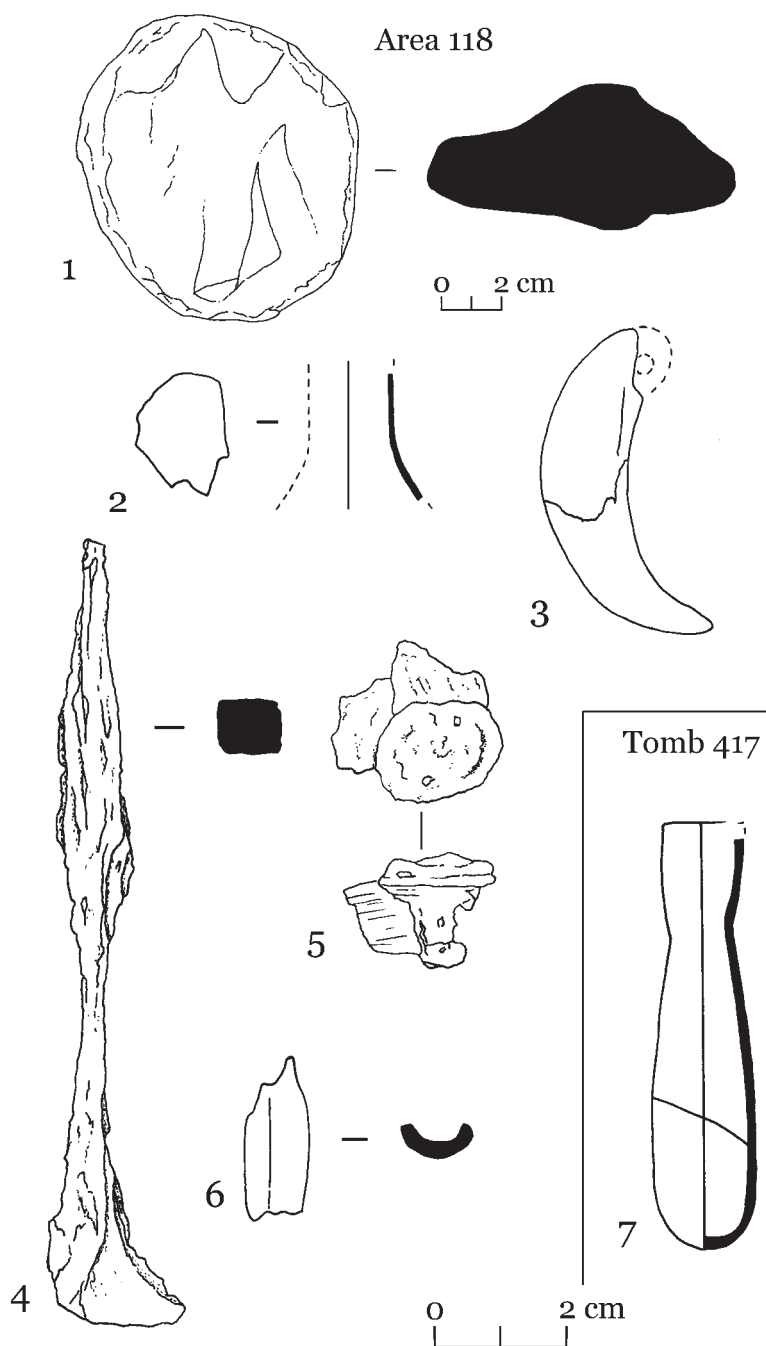


Fig. 46. 1–6: Artifacts from Area 118; 7: Tomb 417 (Area 118) grave find.

Area 118

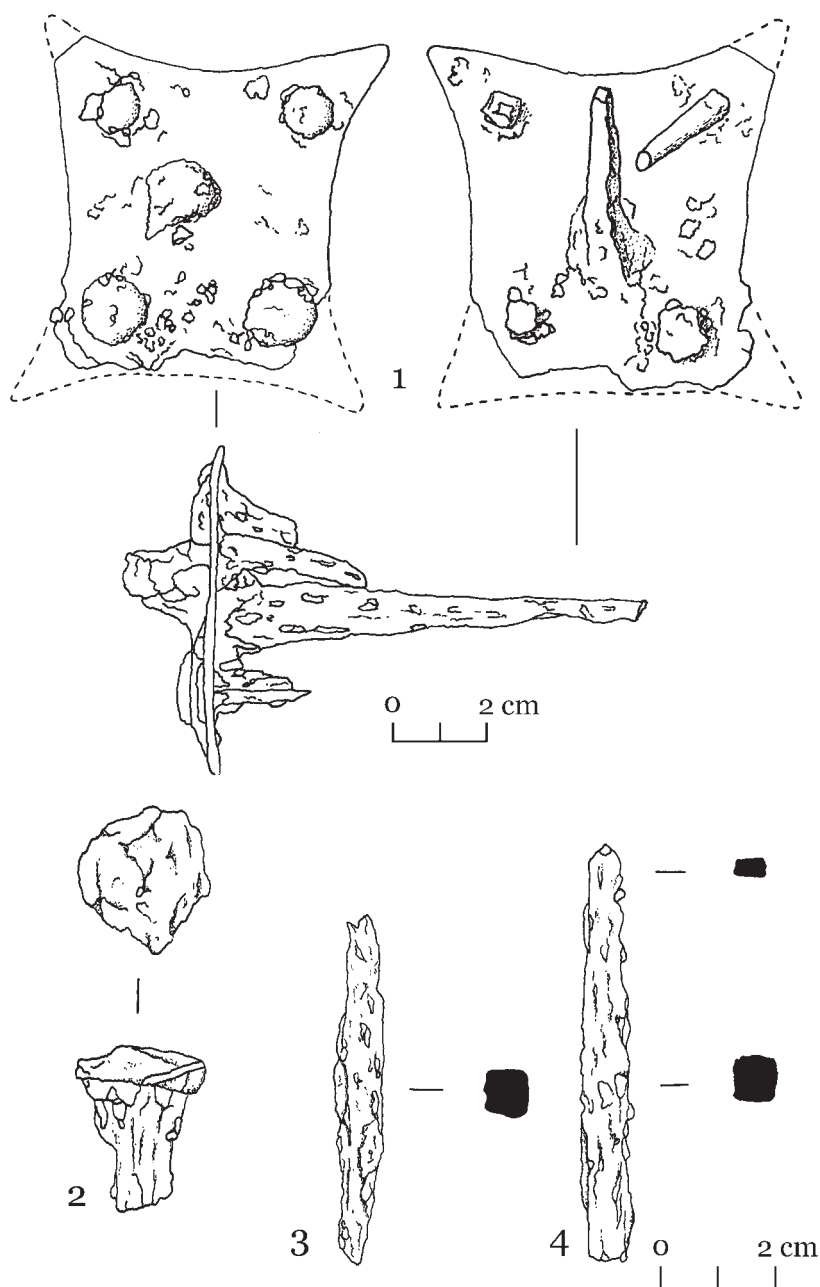


Fig. 47. Artefacts from the large building in Area 118.

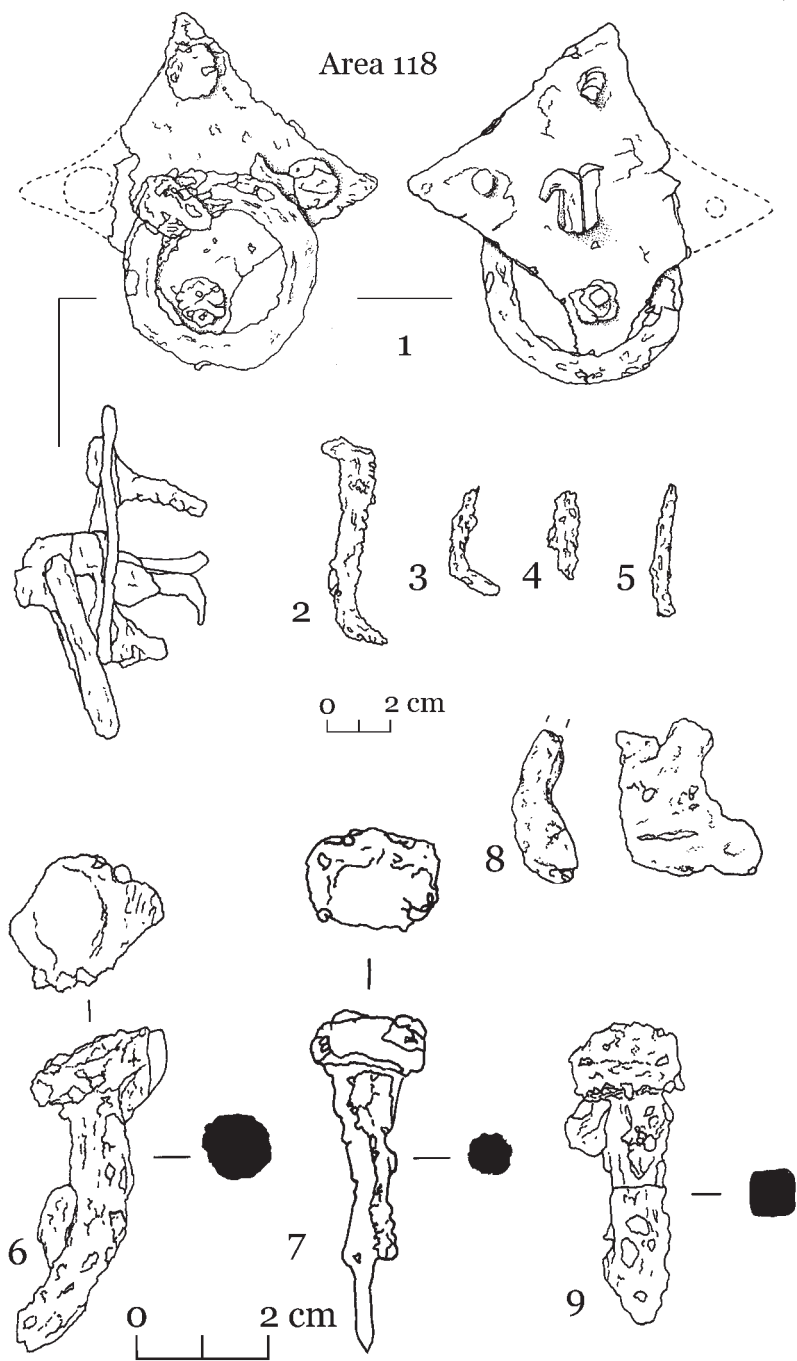


Fig. 48. Artefacts from the large building in Area 118.

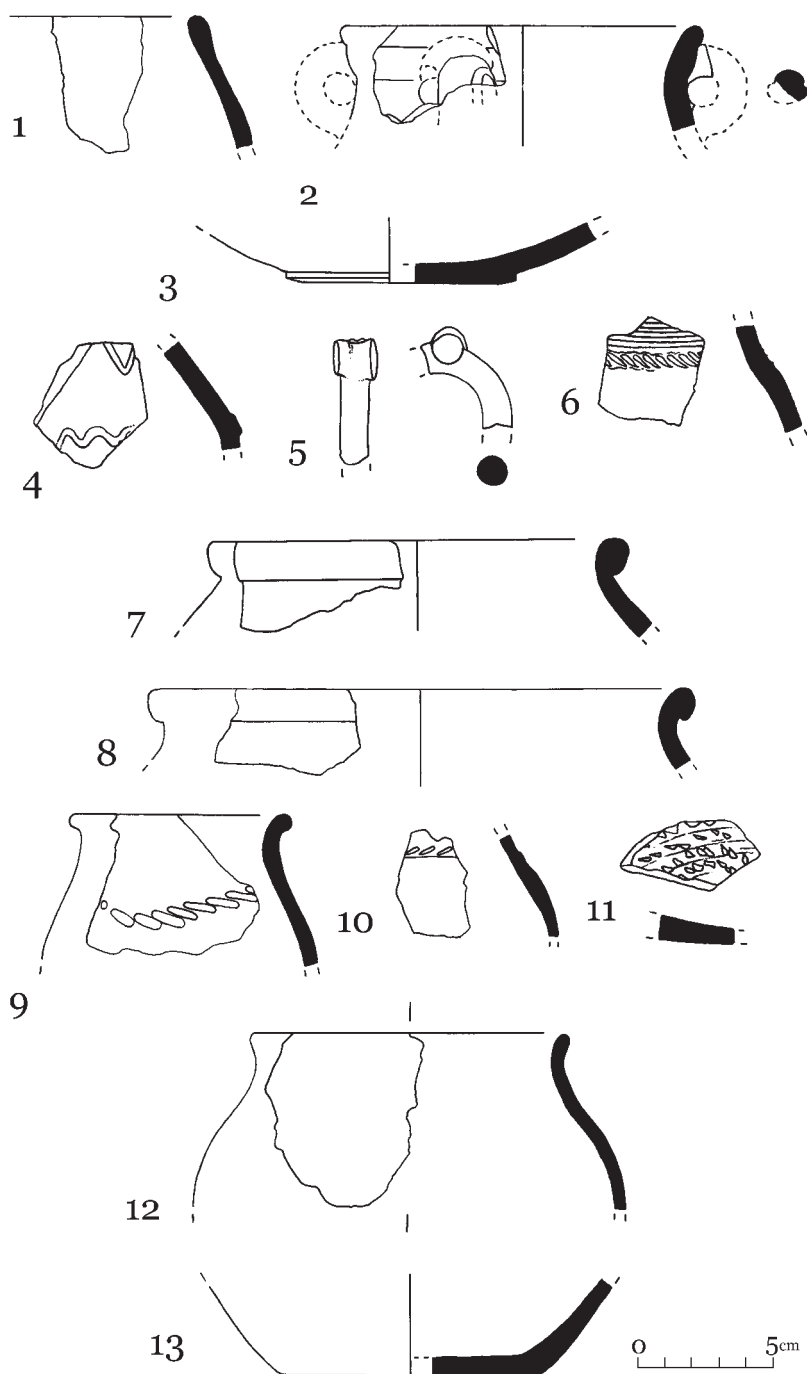


Fig. 49. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

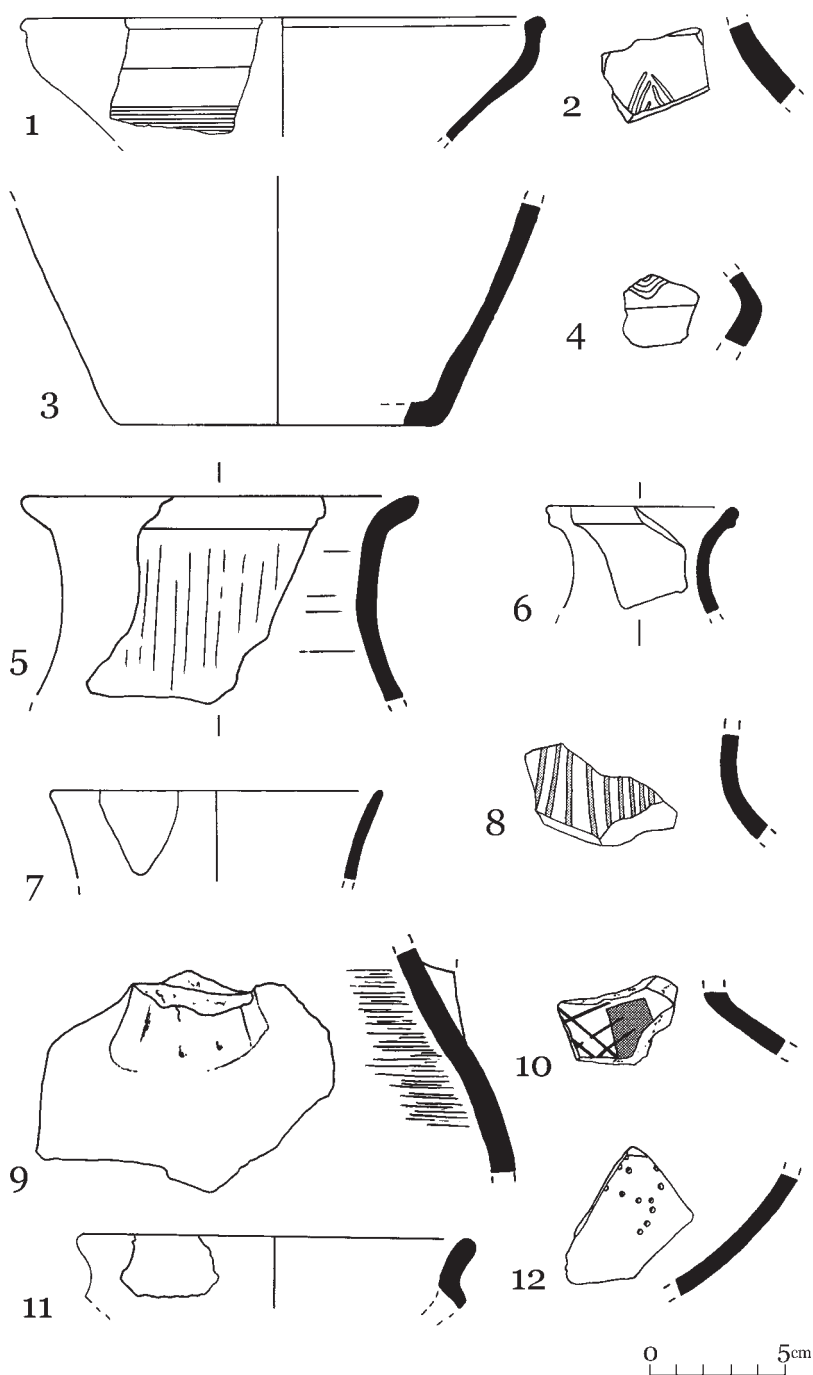


Fig. 50. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

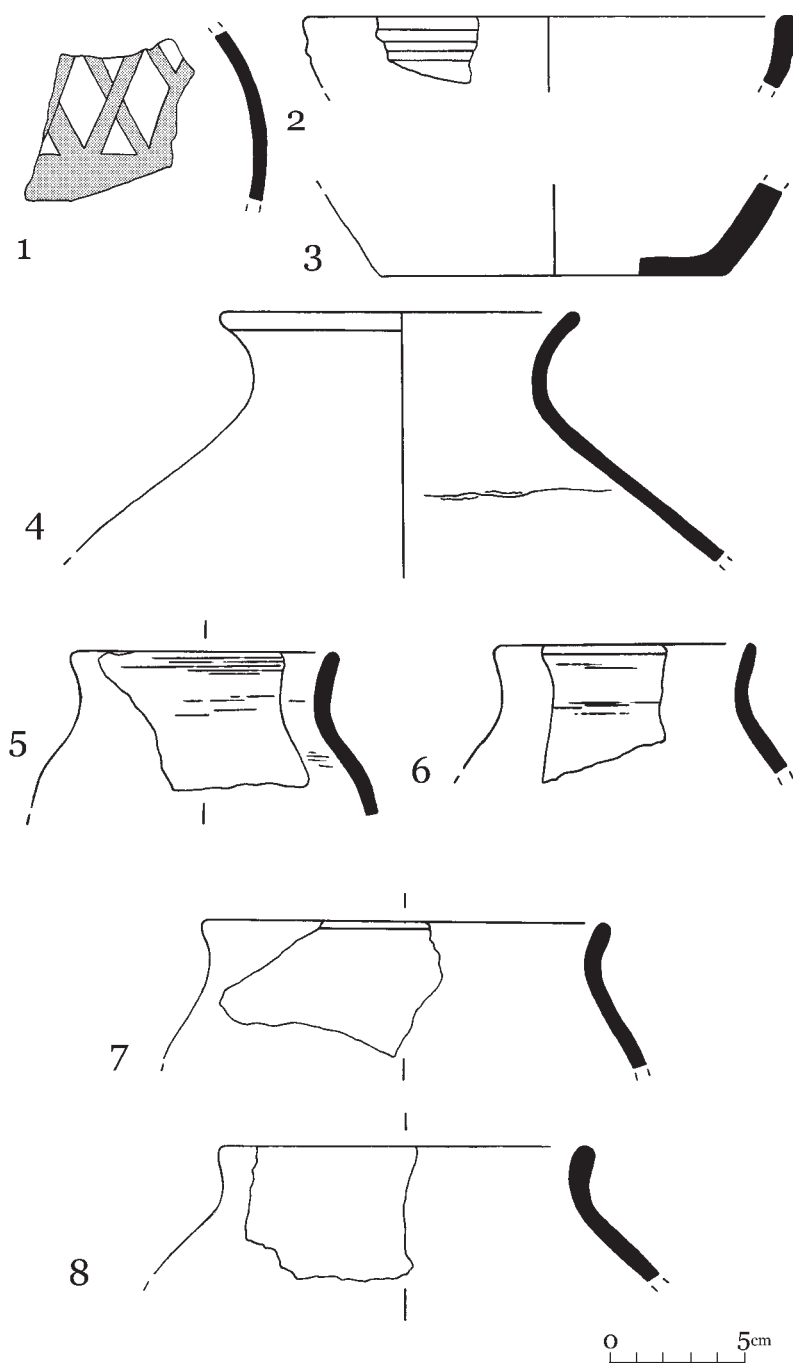


Fig. 51. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

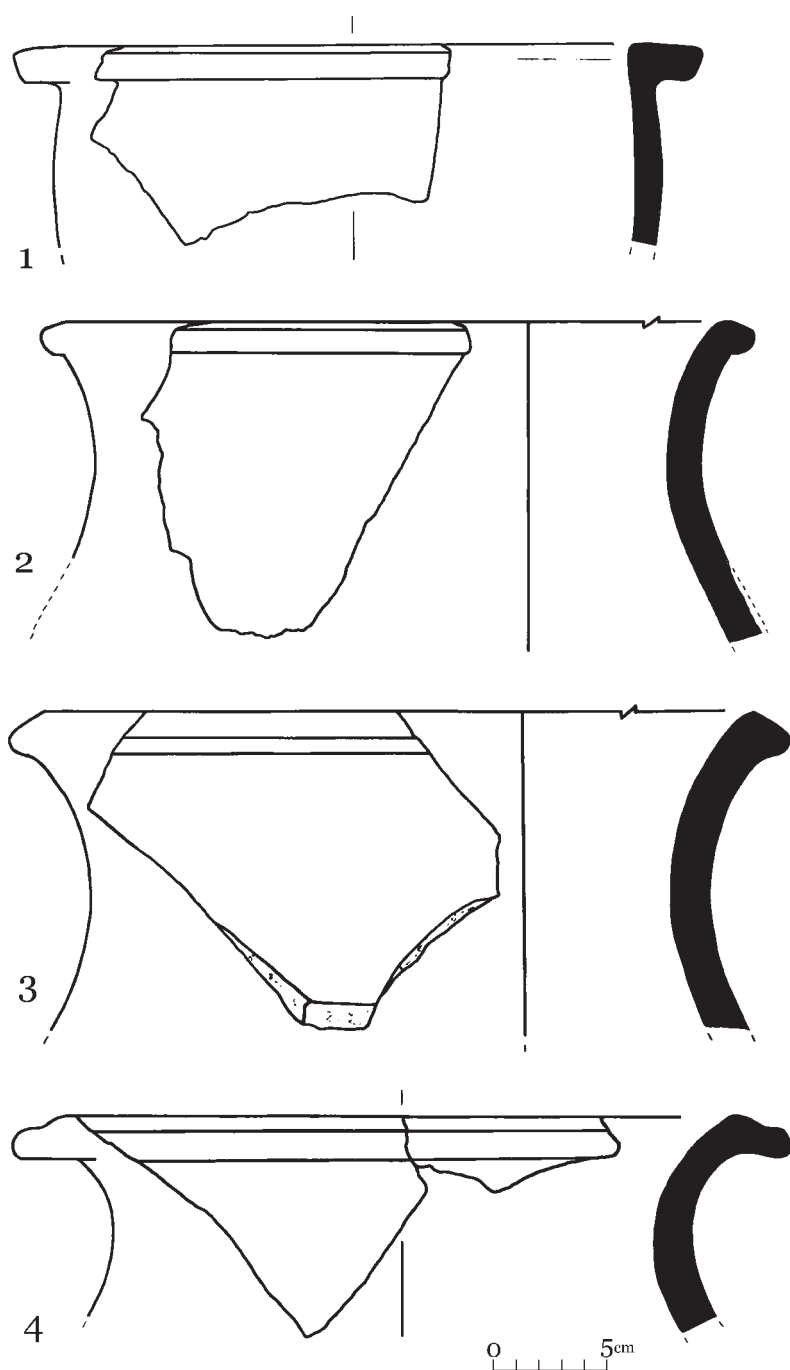


Fig. 52. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

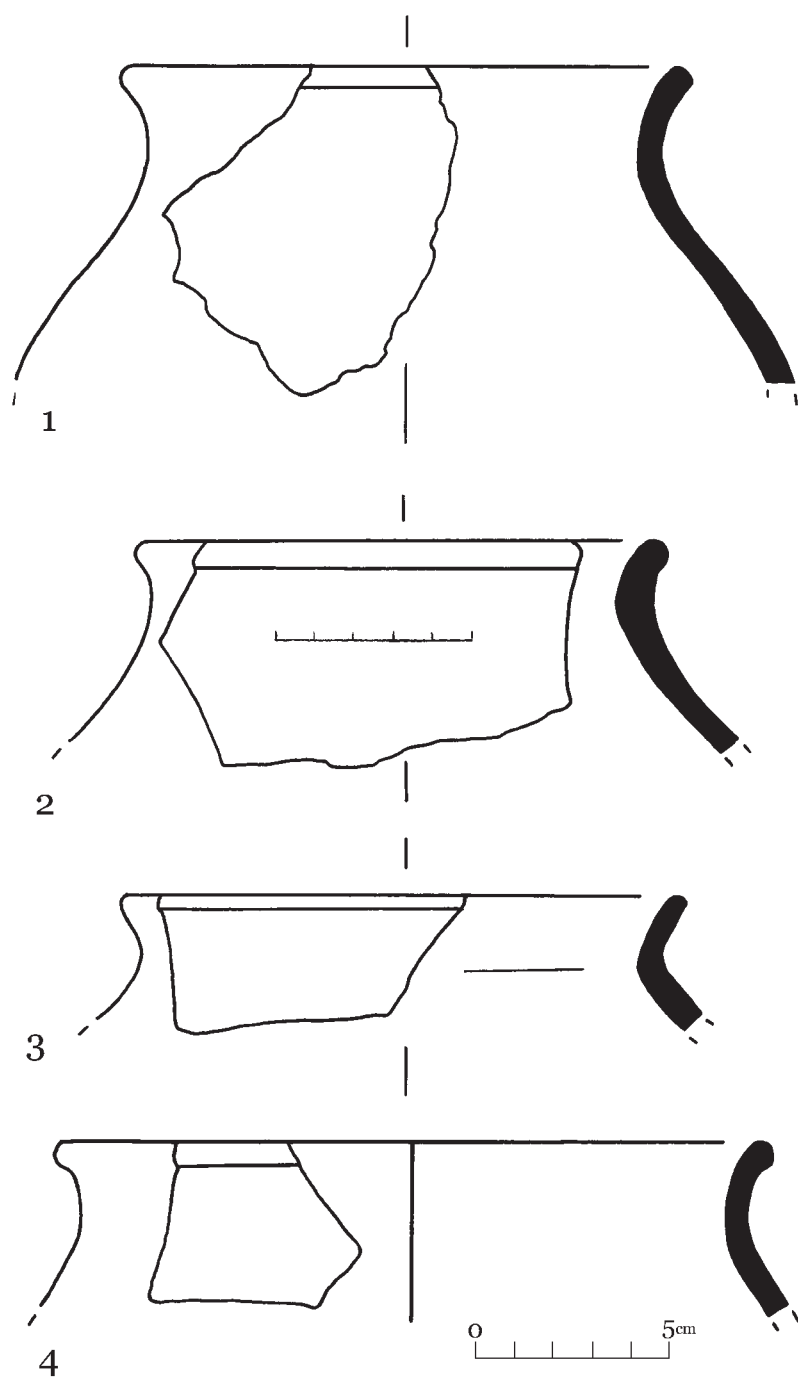


Fig. 53. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

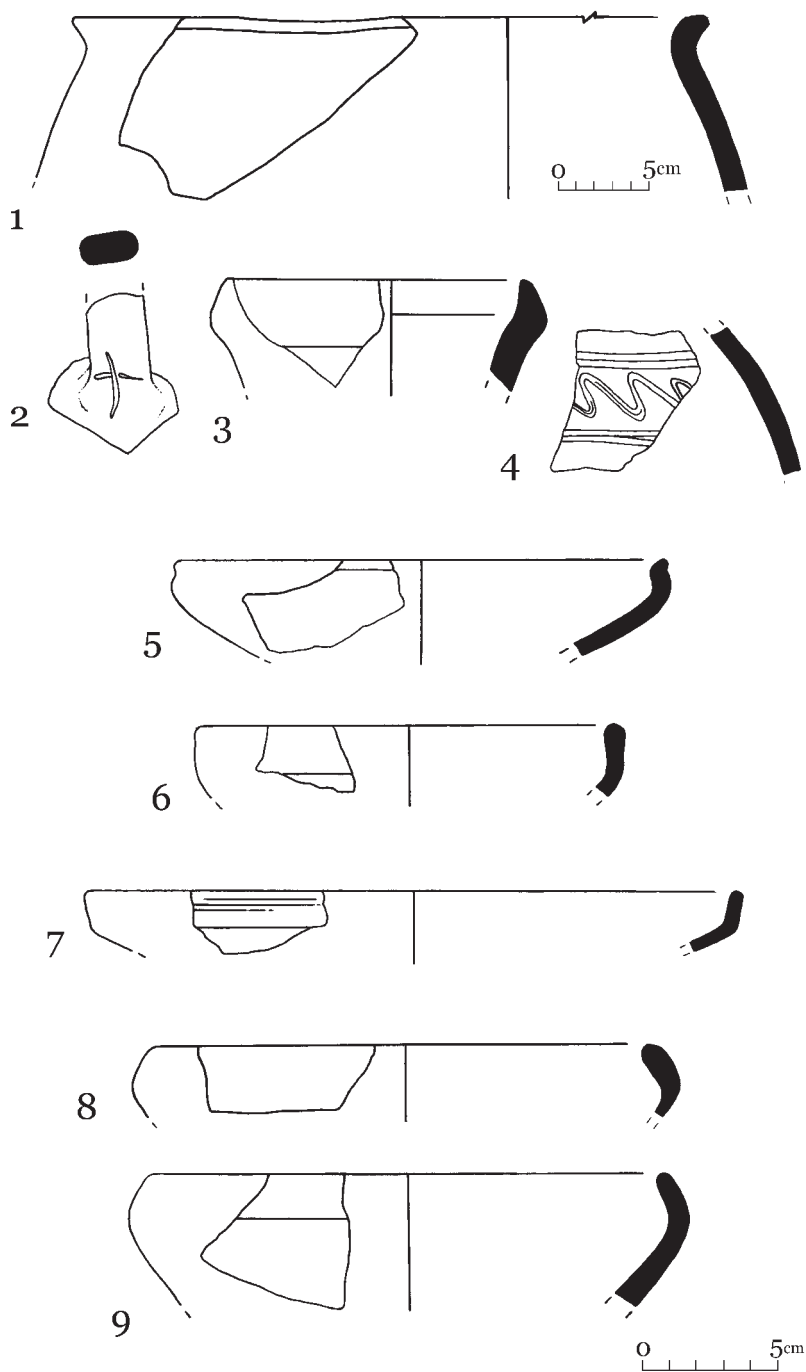


Fig. 54. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

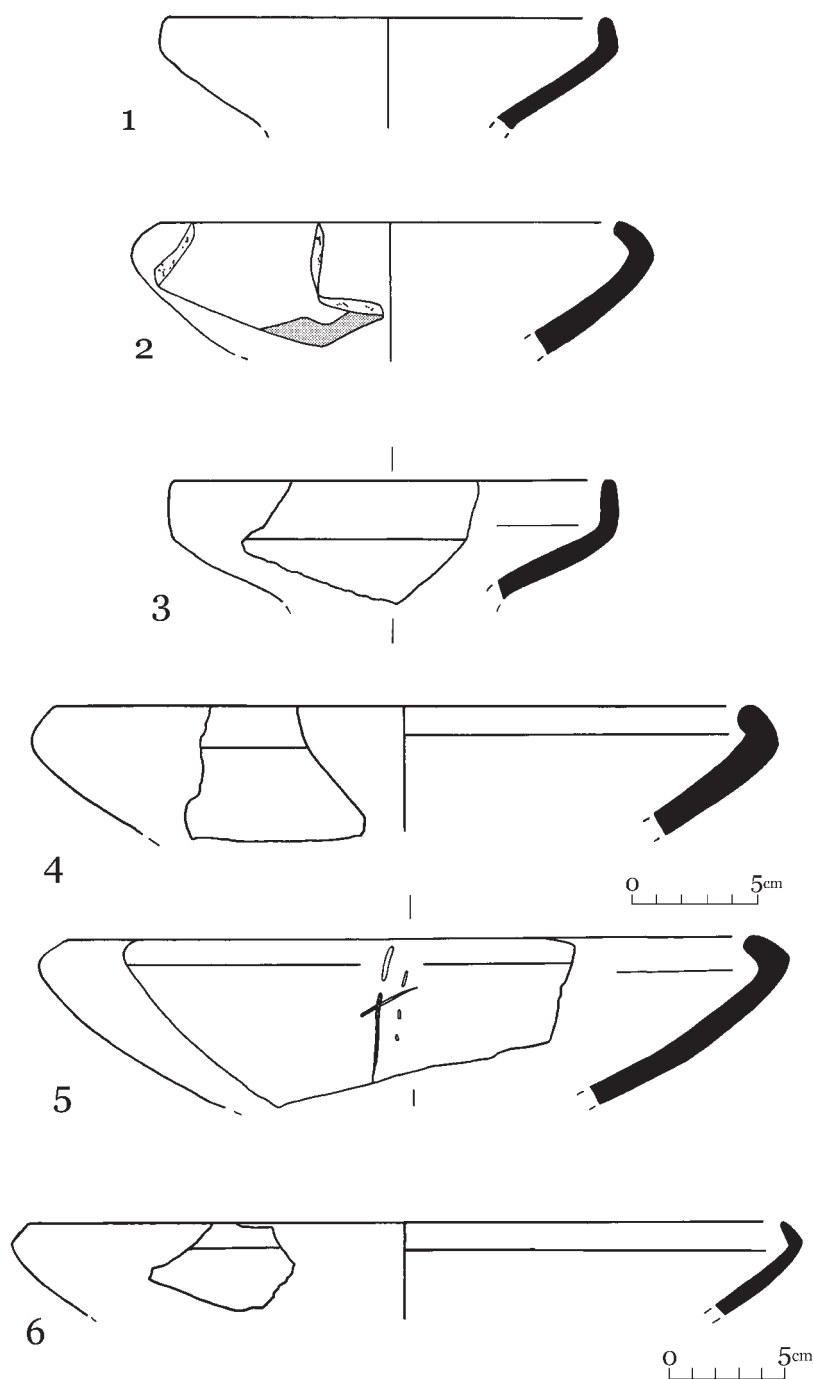


Fig. 55. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

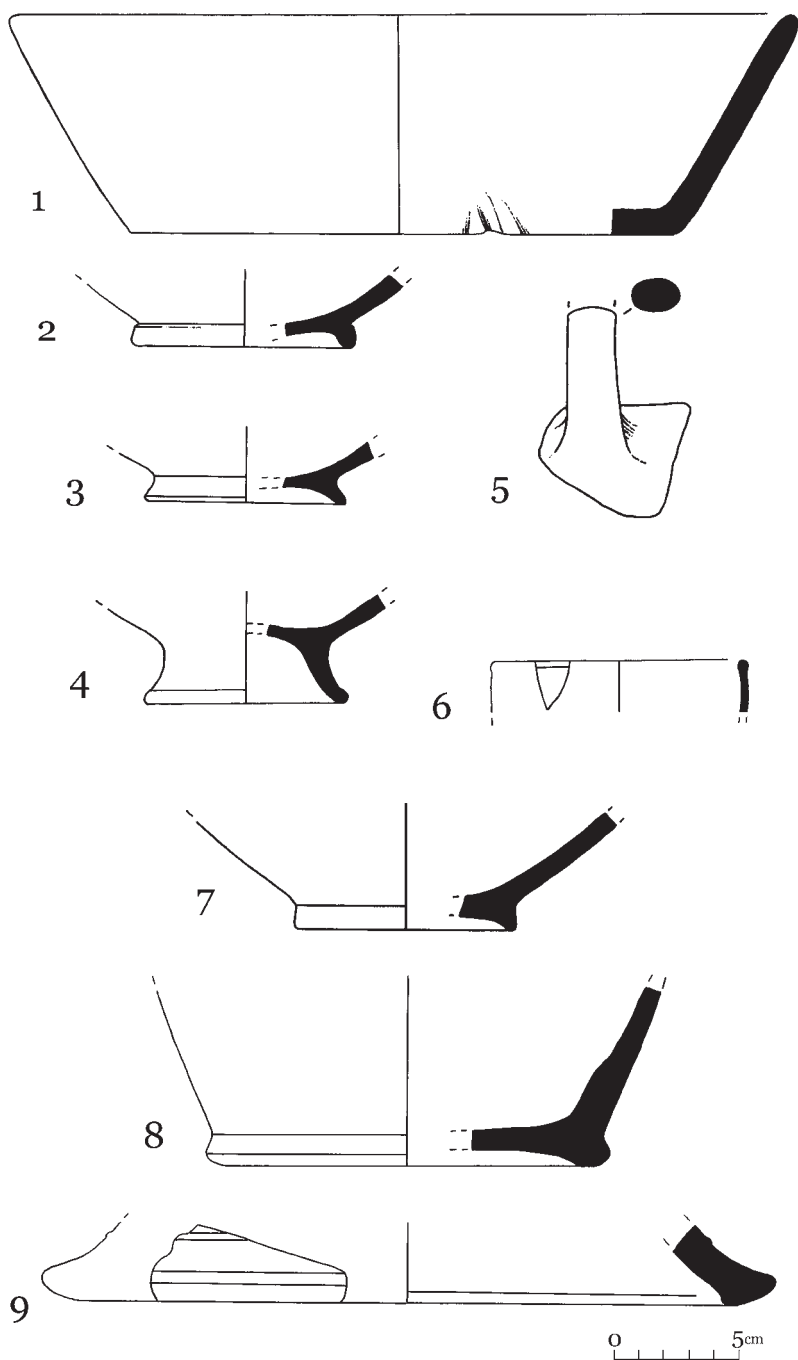


Fig. 56. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

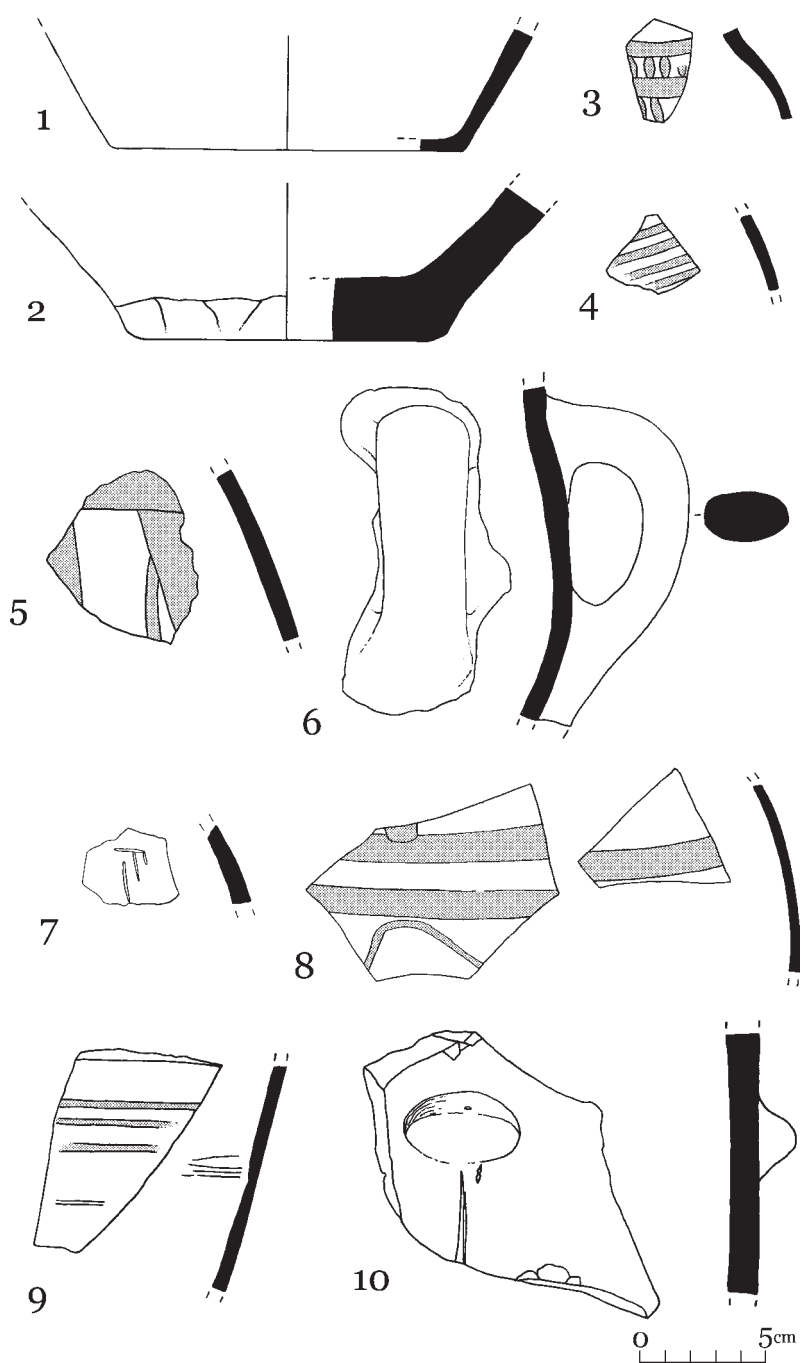


Fig. 57. Ceramics from the large building in Area 118.

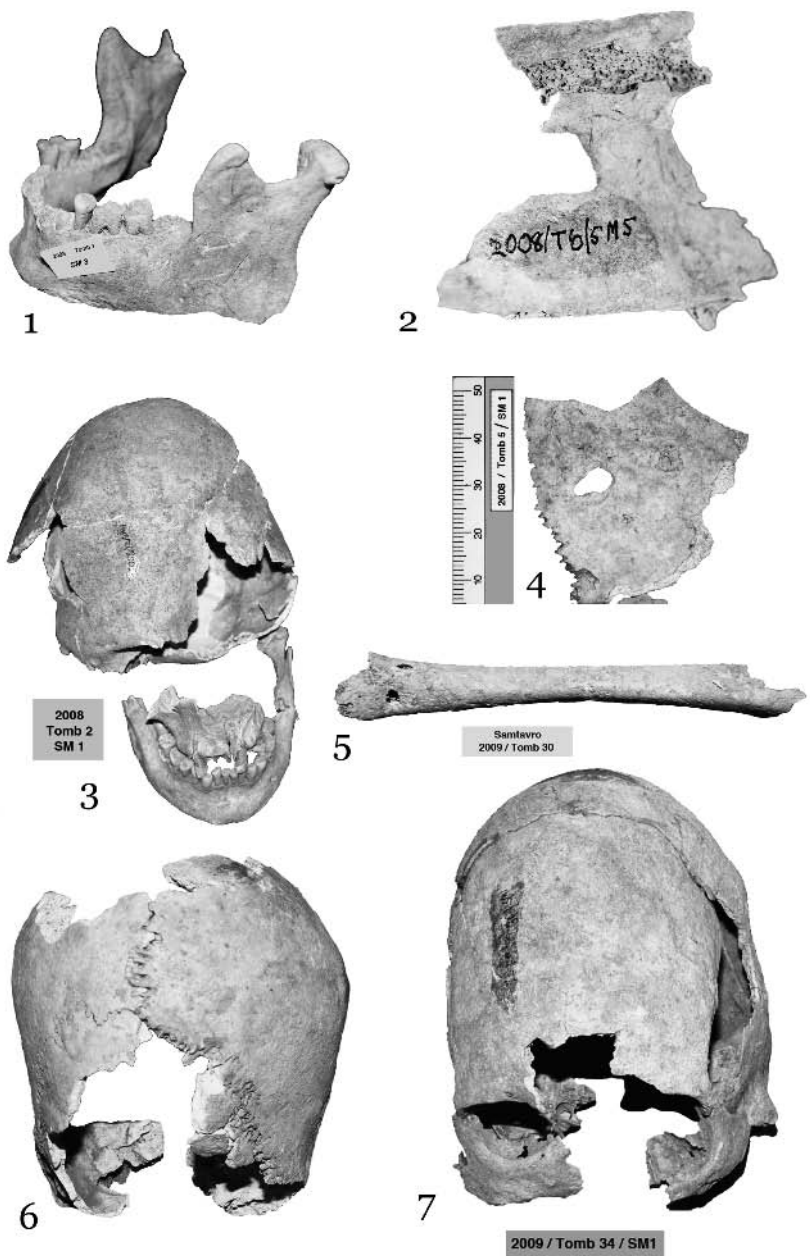


Fig. 58. Select skeletal material from Samtavro, showing
1: Cut marks on mandible; 2: Fractured and fused ribs; 3: Intentional cranial modification;
4: Trepanation wound; 5: Evidence of burrowing beetles; 6: Anterior-posterior cranial
compression; 7: Bilateral cranial compression

Area	Square	Burial No.	Skeleton No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Single/ Commingled	Articulated/ Disarticulated	Pathology	Cultural treatment	Taphonomic evidence	Comments
143	12	1	2008/T1/SM1	30-39	M		C	D	Degenerative joint disease			
			2008/T1/SM2-SM4	34-50	?F			D	Healed wound on left parietal			
			2008/T1/SM3	42-50+	M			D	Porotic hyperostosis		Cut marks on mandible	
			2008/T1/SM5	15-24				D				
			2008/T1/SM6	50-60	M			D				
			2008/T1/SM7	26-40	F			D				
			2008/T1/SM8	40-60	F			D	Marked osteophytes on vertebrae; healed fracture of ribs; fibula compressed distally			
			2008/T1/SM9					D				
			2008/T1/SM11					D				
142	11	2	2008/T2/SM1	35-50	F?		C	D	Osteophytes on vertebrae	Cranial modification: A-P compression		
			2008/T2/SM2	20-35	M			D				

Fig. 59a. Table of skeletal data

Area	Square	Burial No.	Skeleton No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Single/ Commingled	Articulated/ Disarticulated	Pathology	Cultural treatment	Taphonomic evidence	Comments
142	11	9										Too few and fragmentary — unsuitable for study
142	11	10										Very scanty fragments — unsuitable for study
142	11	11										Small cluster of bones — unsuitable for study
166	8	12										No skeletal material
166	8	13										Scanty remains — all sent for radiocarbon analysis
166	8	14										Few skull fragments — unsuitable for study
142	11	15										Scanty remains, plus some animal bones — unsuitable for study

Fig. 59b. Table of skeletal dat

Area	Square	Burial No.	Skeleton No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Single/ Commingled	Articulated/ Disarticulated	Pathology	Cultural treatment	Taphonomic evidence	Comments
143	12	16	2009/T16/SM1	20-35	F		S	A	Dens separated from neural arch of C2: possible hanging	Dens separated from neural arch of C2: possible hanging		
			2009/T16/SM2	18m+/-3m				A				
			2009/T16/SM3	Fetus				?A				
166	7	17										Too few and fragmentary skeletal remains — unsuitable for study
166	8	18	2009/T18/SM1	24+	F		S	A				
			2009/T18/SM2	12-15				A				
166	7	19	2009/T19/SM1	26-38	F	152-158 cm	S	A	Deep groove on internal side of left parietal			
142	11	20										Not yet analysed
166	7	21	2009/T21/SM1	36-49	?F		C	D				
			2009/T21/SM2	20-35	F			D	Cribr orbitalia		Cut marks	

Area	Square	Burial No.	Skeleton No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Single/ Commingle	Articulated/ Disarticulated	Pathology	Cultural treatment	Taphonomic evidence	Comments
			2009/T21/SM3	15-25				D	Unerupted incisor; dental roots recurved			
166	8	22	2009/T22/SM1	24-50	M		C	D				
			2009/T22/SM2	28-44	F			D	Dental caries on two teeth			
			2009/T22/SM3	32-40	F			D				
			2009/T22/SM4	15-24				D	Periostitis on proximal humerus			
			2009/T22/SM5	16-18				D				
			2009/T22/SM6	2-3+				D				
			2009/T22/SM7	40-44	?F			D				
143	12	23	2009/T23/SM1	34-36y	?M		C	D	Dental caries on six teeth			
			2009/T23/SM2	35-40	M	173-175 cm		D				
			2009/T23/SM3	18-24				D		Deep gash on proximal posterior tibia		
142	11	24	2009/T24/SM1	Adult	?M		?S	D				
142	11	25	2009/T25/SM1	Adult		152-155 cm	S	A		Only feet cut off and preserved in burial; sharp cuts on distal fibulae		

Fig. 59c. Table of skeletal data

Area	Square	Burial No.	Skeleton No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Single/ Commingled	Articulated/ Disarticulated	Pathology	Cultural treatment	Taphonomic evidence	Comments
I43	12	32	2009/T32/SM1	24-34	F		S	D	Dental caries on two teeth			
			2009/T32/SM2	Juvenile				D			Scalloped gash on long bone	
I66	8	33	2009/T33/SM1	30-44	M		C	D	Enamel hypoplasia on upper canine			
			2009/T33/SM2	9-10								
I43	12	34	2009/T34/SM1	36-50	F	158-160 cm	S	D	Enamel hypoplasia on upper incisor and canine; caries on one tooth; abscess on maxilla	Deformed cranium: bilateral compression		
I42	11	35										Not yet analysed
I66	8	36										Not yet analysed
I66	8	417										Not yet analysed
I18	3,6,7	491	2009/T491/SM1	subadult			S	D				
I19	3,6,8	498	2009/T498/SM1	50+	?F		S	A				
			2009/T498/SM2	12-20								
			2009/T498/SM3									
I66	8	501										Not yet analysed

Fig. 59d. Table of skeletal data

Sample number	ID	Tomb/Locus	Material	C14 Conventional dates B.P.	Calibrated 14C OxCal v3.10 95.4% prob.
Wk26154	SAM01	Area 118/ 6.1	Ashy soil	3097 +/- 30 BP	1440-1290BC
Wk26155	SAM02	Area 118/6.5	Charcoal	2000 +/- 30 BP	60BC- 80AD 360-280BC
Wk26156	SAM03	Area 118/ 6.9	Charcoal	2120 +/- 45 BP	240-20BC 360-280BC
Wk26157	SAM04	Area 118/6.10	Charcoal	2140 +/- 39 BP	260-40BC
Wk26158	SAM05	Area 118/6.1	Charcoal	2017 +/- 30 BP	100BC-70AD
Wk26159	SAM06	Tomb 13	Bone	2224 +/- 30 BP	390-200BC
Wk26160	SAM07	Tomb 22	Bone	1607 +/- 30 BP	390-540AD
Wk26161	SAM08	Tomb 22	Bone	1571 +/- 30 BP	420-560AD 120-260AD
Wk26162	SAM09	Tomb 6	Bone	1817 +/- 30 BP	290-320AD
Wk26163	SAM10	Tomb 30	Bone	1796 +/- 30 BP	130-330AD

Fig. 6o. Table of radiocarbon readings

Tarshish and the United Monarchy of Israel

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Abstract

*In several publications and communications to scientific assemblies the authors have proposed the identification of Tarshish with Huelva, starting with written references and the discovery of numerous Phoenician remains dated prior to the beginning of western Phoenician colonisation and based on the exploitation evidenced thereof. However, the revision of the Bible's historical reliability during recent years inquires into this identity as well as into the Phoenician voyages to the distant west in the second half of the 10th century BCE. The present work suggests that Jerusalem might have been a power centre at that time and assures the existence of scribes who handled trustworthy information about certain events in the kingdoms of David and Solomon.**

Beyond the interest it might raise due to its frequent mention in the Bible and some extra-biblical documents, from our point of view Tarshish brings forth clues to the pre-colonial emporial phase preceding western Phoenician colonisation proper and, partly also, the enrichment and relevance of Tyre over 400 years.¹

Tarshish from the Outlook of the Huelva Findings

In the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, the old harbour city of Huelva was located at the tip of a peninsula open towards the estuary formed by the Tinto and Odiel rivers before flowing into the Atlantic Ocean (Fig. 1). This location, of great nautical and strategic importance, explains why it

* We sincerely appreciate A. Montañó's help in preparing the English version of this paper.

¹ We have dealt with this question in González de Canales *et al.* (2006) and González de Canales *et al.* (2009).

was considered traditionally as the natural port for loading and shipping of the natural resources of the hinterland. Gold and silver minerals of the Iberian Pyrite Belt, *gossan* and *jarosites*, were exploited during the pre-Roman and Roman periods to an impressive extent: the old silver slags from Riotinto, estimated through surface surveys and systematic drillings at some 6,600,000 tons,² were lined up over more than two kilometres (Fig. 2).³

In December 2004 we made known a large assemblage of archaeological materials which had come to light at Calle Méndez Núñez 7–13 / Plaza de las Monjas 12 in the historical centre of Huelva.⁴ The excavation had reached levels of the first half of the seventh century BCE, or perhaps the end of the eighth century BCE, when it was interrupted by the surge of a strong phreatic level, common to all lower parts of the city. Later on, during the emptying of the terrain by a construction company we could observe, *in situ*, a horizontal stratum, located some 5 m deep and 2.5 m below the water table, which showed the oldest vestiges of anthropic occupation. We proceeded to the recuperation of materials in a secondary position limited to the greyish-black earths well differentiated from the above mentioned stratum, whose binocular analysis by experienced geographers from the Huelva University showed that it was composed of estuarine sediment with abundant remains of arthropods and flora typical of a salt marsh. The thousands of ceramic fragments recovered were distributed practically equally between Phoenician and local traditions. According to Tyre's stratigraphy⁵ and the chronological horizons of Cyprus,⁶ the lower limit of the context was established *ca.* 770 BCE (before the end of Tyre's stratum IV). In order to determine the upper limit we took into consideration Phoenician ceramics whose *termini ante quos* were older: a base type 10 of deep bowl, 13 bases type 11 of deep bowl and 11 rims of amphorae type 12, also accounting for two plates type 14. A fragment of jug type 9 and three fragments assigned, with reservations, to spouted jugs ascribed at Cyprus to the Kouklia horizon (*ca.* 1050–850 BCE) were not contemplated because in Tyre those fragments remain up to strata later than such horizon. Other ceramics of early origin in the Phoenician metropolis, like plates type 10, 11 and 13, jugs type 10, amphorae type 9 or bulbous bases type 20, were not evaluated either for the same reason of survival. Having in mind that the *termini ante quos*

² 15,300,000 tons were previously estimated based exclusively on surface surveys (Salkied 1970, p. 89).

³ Rothenberg *et al.* 1989, p. 66.

⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004.

⁵ Bikai 1978a; 1978b; 1981, p. 33.

⁶ Bikai 1987.

mark the uppermost possible recent limit, the beginning of the context was established at *ca.* 900 BCE, but accepting a wide margin between the second half of the tenth century BCE and the first half of the ninth century BCE. Such an approximation is partly backed by three Euboeo-Cycladic plates with pendent semicircles of the Subprotogeometric I–II period⁷ and by the palaeographical dating from a group of Phoenician graffiti.⁸ Finally, to the Groningen University we owe three radiocarbon determinations (accelerator mass spectrometry) over cattle bones coming from the above-mentioned greyish-black stratum. The calibration (Oxcal v3.10) of the measured dates indicates that the bones date between 1000 and 820 BCE. The mean age of the three radiocarbon dates was 2755 \pm 15 BP which yielded a calibrated age range of 930–830 BCE with a 94 per cent probability; GR-29512: 2775 \pm 25 BP, 1000–840 BCE with a 95.4% probability.⁹ In no single case was any date calibrated later than 820 BCE so that, as we appreciated during the ceramic study, inclusions from upper levels, bones in this case, do not seem to be likely.¹⁰

Although a beginning of the context in the second half of the tenth century BCE could be feasible from the ceramic chronology and, undoubtedly, from the radiocarbon dates, facing the current polemic affecting both dating methods we chose to leave the chronological bracket open to between the second half of the tenth century BCE and the first half of the ninth

⁷ According to the classification and chronology proposed by Nitsche (1986/87, pp. 32, 44).

⁸ Heltzer 2004.

⁹ Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006, p. 31–32. Since the publication of the finds, several chronological proposals have been produced for which we thank their authors; at the same time, we would like to introduce several tinges. Amongst the proposals leaning toward lowering the chronology, in one case (Botto 2004/2005, p. 21) neither the Phoenician ceramics whose *termini ante quos* are older, nor the typology and chronology of the Euboeo-Cycladic Subprotogeometric plates as exposed by Nitsche, nor the still unpublished radiocarbon dates of the context are contemplated or are not contemplated in their entirety; in another case (Gilboa *et al.* 2008, pp. 168–173.), whose author was kind enough to let us know its contents before its publication, besides what we state above, it is not observed that in the consideration of Tarshish there also comes into play the demonstration of the exploitation by the Phoenicians of all the produce mentioned in the biblical texts in a time preceding western colonisation. The opposing proposals, leaning toward elevating the chronology, start from the consideration that the *termini ante quos* aim at the lowest possible upper limit and the radiocarbon dates recorded in various European countries, Turkey and Carthage, which are incompatible with the lowest ones from Israel, without us being able to pronounce ourselves about this complex and multidisciplinary issue.

¹⁰ This work was edited before the results of radiocarbon determinations were known. We thus assume the challenge of finding radiocarbon dates inconsistent with the dates estimated from the ceramics. It has not been the case, since both datings were compatible, above all considering that Groningen radiocarbon determinations in other sites tend to elevate 8th century BCE ceramic chronology.

century BCE, just to avoid the impression that we might be trying to force the chronology in order to identify Huelva with the biblical Tarshish of 1 Kings 10.22.¹¹ Notwithstanding, even in the case that none of the ceramics reached the Hiram I period, other points of the city still might lodge slightly older ceramics since it is unthinkable that the manifold activities analysed would be limited just to the investigated terrain. There is also the question of the elbow fibulae of the famous bronze hoard from the Huelva estuary. To the classical parallels known in Cyprus and the Levant,¹² those of the Achziv necropolis, 25 km south of Tyre, can be added.¹³

Together with the ceramic, paleogeographical and radiocarbon approximations, the relationship of the Huelva habitat with Tarshish in the Hiram I period can be solidly established based on the products actually exploited by the Phoenicians. According to 1 Kings 10.22, the ships of Tarshish (or just a single ship¹⁴) provided gold, silver and ivory, *q(w)pym* and *t(w)kyym*, to the monarch. In a recent work we exposed the difficulties that both Hebrew terms have posed since antiquity and the lack of textual fundamentals for an Indian Tarshish where there are no traces of Phoenician remains.¹⁵

¹¹ The Tarshish toponym is implicit or, depending on the reading, it is even explicit in the verses.

¹² Almagro Basch 1957–1958.

¹³ Mazar 2004, p. 113 and fig. 28.1; we appreciate Dr. A. Nijboer's indication about this similitude. Plausibly, the *obelos* of tomb 523 at the Cypriot necropolis of Amathus, in a Cypro-Geometric I/II context (Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989), must be related to the return trip of the Phoenicians from the far Occident in the emporial-pre-colonial epoch.

¹⁴ For Bunnens (1979, pp. 63–4) and other authors, according to an interpretation of Max Müller (1902, p. 684), the Hebrew term *ʾōnî*, usually translated as “a collection of ships or fleet”, could be an archaism of *ʾōnîyyath*, in which case it would mean “a single ship” instead of “fleet”.

¹⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2006. In the Septuagint version of 1 Kings 10.22, besides gold and silver, some “carved and hewn stones” also appear. Some authors thought that these stones could be identified with the enigmatic “Tarshish stone” from other biblical verses. On another hand, the Septuagint denominates as *chrysolithos* a stone cited in Exodus 28:20 and 39:13 which is called “Tarshish” in the *Masoretic Text*. The current meaning of chrysolite is modern, but for the Greeks it only meant “golden stone”. The “Tarshish stone” is described as a precious or semi-precious gem (Song of Solomon 5.15; Daniel 10.6) and it is compared to the bronze wheels of the “Cypriot little cart” (Ezekiel 1.16; 10.9), because of its shape and brightness. Although some unproved identifications of this stone, which do not respond to its description, were attempted, a new identification with dodecahedral pyrite crystals (an iron disulphide: FeS₂, also known as “fool’s gold”), which has been documented in Riotinto and other mines of the Iberian Pyrite Belt, could be more appropriate. The edges of the faces of these crystals resemble, to a certain extent, wheel spokes, and their shine evokes that of the “Tarshish stone”. Lastly, if we consider the Septuagint version, their shape and flat facets respond symbolically to the images of “carved and hewn stones.” Though the identification is clearly hypothetical, it could acquire evidence if these pyrite crystals appeared in oriental settlements in the future.

As far as the clearly mentioned products are concerned, the obtainment of silver through cupellation and the existence of ivory workshops were proven, whereas gold, of which an earring was exhumed,¹⁶ might have reached Huelva from the neighbouring regions of Extremadura and Portugal,¹⁷ leaving the possibility open that it was reduced from some mineralisation of the Iberian Pyrite Belt¹⁸ or, even, according to a hypothesis defended for a later period, based on a Herodotus (IV 196) testimony,¹⁹ that it might have been carried from the rich auriferous zones of Niger-Senegal in the Atlantic façades of today's Morocco, where it would be freighted aboard Phoenician ships. Consequently the exploitation of all products mentioned in 1 Kings 10:22 is accredited in Huelva at dates prior to the colonisation and it is highly unlikely that a Deuteronomist writer imagined a King Hiram obtaining some very exclusive products (silver, ivory) in a remote Occident ("once every three years" after the verse) precisely where Huelva is located. Moreover, the same location of Tarshish is suggested by other biblical verses referred to later times (Jonah 1.3, Psalm 72.10, Ezekiel 38.13 and Isaiah 23.6) and also the extra-biblical inscription of Esharhaddon (681–669 BCE), where Tarshish is a *Tarsisi* beyond the Ionians.²⁰ Additionally and coinciding with the reading in the Nora Stele,²¹ dated between the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, an important assemblage of Sardinian vases comprising *brocche askoidi*, *vasi a collo*, a bowl and amphorae²² assures the relationship of Huelva with Sardinia.

¹⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pp. 155–156; pl. LXIV.19.

¹⁷ Within this context, ceramics of that provenance were documented (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pp. 108, 191–192; pl. XXII.12–24).

¹⁸ Just a few decades ago Riotinto yielded some six tons of gold annually (information we appreciate from the Atlantic Copper company). Notwithstanding, although slag analysis shows that minerals with the richest content of precious metals were exploited selectively in antiquity, we do not know whether there was the technological skill necessary to obtain gold from these mines.

¹⁹ López Pardo 2000, pp. 46–49.

²⁰ Borger 1956, p. 86.

²¹ Some epigraphists read "Cape Temple" instead of "Tarshish". Lipiński (2004, p. 234 n. 50) has explained the reasons why, in his opinion, it should read Tarshish (*b-tršš* instead of *bt rš š*). According to Tsirkin (1986, pp. 180–181), the inscription places Tarshish in a western location in touch with Sardinia, a relationship which seems to confirm the emergence in Huelva of the Sardinian vases to which we have referred and which we attribute to Phoenician transportation, given the Phoenician-indigenous context and the find of a Phoenician inscription on a fragment of Nuraghic amphora (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, p. 133 n. 2 and pls. XXXV.2 and LXI.2, with an epigraphic analysis from M. Heltzer). The same consideration applies to the Euboeo-Cycladic, Attic, Cypriot and Italic ceramics documented (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pp. 82–106 and pls. XVIII–XXI and LVII–LX), which do not indicate Cypriot, Greek, or Italic navigations but, like the Sardinian ceramics, the route, landfalls, way and trade stations with the Phoenicians before reaching Huelva.

²² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pp. 70–72, 100–106, 183; pls. XIV.1–9, 21, XXI, LII.9–17, 20, LX.

And, as a third extra-biblical quotation, *Mastias Tarseiou* appears in the Polybius transcription of the second Rome-Carthage treaty (III 24.4), 348 BCE, and also, in Polybius' comment on the same treaty, he mentions *Mastia Tarséion* (III 24.2). In another instance, Polybius (III 33.9) recounts that Hannibal moved *Thersitai* and *Mastianoi* to Africa from Spain. Without getting into the difficulties of both texts, it seems that the Tarshish toponym for the south of the Iberian Peninsula was preserved during the Punic period.

The United Monarchy of Israel

Without losing the perspective that the historical remnants transmitted by the Bible — as arguable as they may be — are subject to the enactment of a system of beliefs, precepts and religious practices, the identification of Tarshish with Huelva from the time of Hiram I places before us the spiny discussion about the United Monarchy of Israel. Although the issue has interested countless investigators, the contributions of Finkelstein and Silberman, owing to their broadcast, have become the epicentre of a polemic, which transcends the strictly historical fact. In several works, among which can be quoted *The Bible Unearthed* (2001) and *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition* (2006), standing out for their amplitude, these authors plan to construe a new history of the old Israel starting from archaeological evidence and modern dating techniques, and to a certain extent disregarding the biblical text. According to their appraisal, the first signs of a state do not show up in Judah until the ninth century BCE with the fortification systems and some public buildings in Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Beer-sheba and Arad (Fig. 3) and, although not specified in all of their publications, also Jerusalem judging by the so-called Stepped Stone Structure and a proto-Aeolic capital found in the 1950s,²³ though this architectonic element could belong to a much later period. The absence of any remarkable archaeological find would prove that Jerusalem was not the capital of a true kingdom with remarkable buildings in the tenth century BCE, but a small village with a few hectares, “the rough hilltop stronghold of a local dynasty of rustic tribal chiefs”.²⁴ The greatness of David and Solomon is regarded as a myth created by Deuteronomic history. A supposed first united monarchy,

²³ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 103–105.

²⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 22.

centred in Samaria instead of Jerusalem, would spring up from marriages between the courts of both Israelite kingdoms (2 Kings 8.18) and a vassalage of Jehoshaphat of Judah (870–846 BCE) to the Northern Kingdom not mentioned in the Bible.²⁵ The history of David would not have been written until the end of the eighth century BCE, coinciding with a sudden expansion of writing and literature in Judah, a spectacular demographic increase due to the affluence of refugees from the Northern Kingdom fleeing Assyrian invasion, and the emergence of a well-constituted state, with Jerusalem as the great urban centre and a centralised bureaucracy.

Although no methodological objection can be made to Finkelstein and Silberman's views, above all because the far-reaching narrative reconstruction questions the historical value of Samuel and 1 Kings, their conclusions are by no means confirmed by archaeology in every aspect. Such conclusions, besides being incompatible with the destruction of 180 metres of Jerusalem's wall by Jehoash of Israel (800–784 BCE) mentioned in 2 Kings 14.13, tend to limit the chance of transmitting information with regard to some Phoenician voyages to the far Occident in the second half of the tenth century BCE, and to Ophir at the middle of the same century. In the following sections we shall propose some textual and archaeological interpretations, which may lead to not underestimating the possibility of such navigations and the records of them.

David and Solomon, Two Exemplary Figures at the Time of Pious Josiah?

It has always been surprising that Deuteronomists would attribute extremely despicable behaviour to their glorified David and Solomon. The former not only does not respect Bath-sheba, his neighbour's wife, but, in order to possess her, he plots the death of her husband (2 Samuel 11.2–17; 12.9). And, what to say about Solomon? Not only will he marry idolater foreigners but he erects altars to Chemosh, god of Moab, and to Milcom, god of Ammon, and will worship Astarte and as many divinities as is convenient (1 Kings 11.1–8; 2 Kings 23.13). These do not seem to be model kings for a Judah in which the monotheist Mosaic religion is advocated together with the ethical code of the Deuteronomy, intimately bound to the Book of the Law 'found' by the priest Helkias during the reign of the pious Josiah (639–609 BCE). It could be argued that the final aim of exalting impious kings would be none other than to state the supreme power of the divinity,

²⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 103.

imposing upon them the penalty they deserved, the same justice extolled by the god Chemosh in the Stele of Mesha king of Moab, in the mid ninth century BCE.

Finkelstein and Silberman appreciate in the negative, inconsistent image of David the pretension of a Jew in the times of Hezekiah (727–698 BCE) to assimilate the fugitives from the Northern Kingdom, respecting their critical traditions about the monarch.²⁶ Of course, the propagandistic use of the United Monarchy would mean that the memories of David and Solomon as sovereigns of a relatively wide territory must have continued alive and were believed in, and that there could be some type of primitive unitary Israelite state.²⁷ The last considerations raise some question marks about the extent of the territory controlled by David in the tradition of the Northern Kingdom and the reasons for the strong impression left in the traditions of both kingdoms by a discreet southern tribal leader regarded as an *apiru* brigand chief.²⁸

Some Exploits of Saul, David and Solomon

Finkelstein and Silberman accept the inclusion of historical sources in the writing of the Bible, which they postulate at the end of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.²⁹ Referring to the archaeological and anthropological records, they lend reliability to the first period of David and appreciate a coincidence between the biblical geography of the upper lands of Judah in that time and the real landscape of the tenth century BCE.³⁰ Silence in regard to Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Beer-sheba and Arad would reveal that the description took place before the development of these cities in the ninth century BCE.³¹ The same happens, although for the opposite reason, with the important Philistine city of Gath, which was destroyed in the second half of the ninth century BCE (according to 2 Kings 12.17, by Hazael of Damascus) and was never again mentioned in biblical sources or Assyrian texts of the seventh century BCE.³² Together with David, they lend credibility to the existence of Saul, since the territory assigned by the Bible does

²⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 142–143.

²⁷ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 143.

²⁸ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 46–50, 58, 110.

²⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 1, 5, 23; 2006, pp. 6, 17, 86.

³⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 33–40, 58.

³¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 38.

³² Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 39–40, 115, 189.

not fit any later demarcation and the toponyms referred to in his period differ from the usual ones in the later monarchy.³³ As far as Solomon is concerned, they suggest that the exploits of his reign recreate the period of Manasseh of Judah (698–642 BCE) and Assyrian domination,³⁴ justifying the allusions to the organisation of the northern districts (1 Kings 4.7–19) through the utilisation of a supposed administrative text of the same origin.³⁵ According to a series of architectural and chronological arguments, Solomon would also have been credited with the important constructions of the Omrite monarchs from the Northern Kingdom in Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer.³⁶

What light can extra-biblical sources shed over these issues? The existence of two kingdoms in the ninth century BCE is corroborated by Assyrian, Syrian and Moabite documents. The monolithic inscription of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BCE) tells about the important military force of Ahab (873–852 BCE) in the battle of Qarqar (853 BCE), whereas the Aramaean stele of Tel Dan mentions the monarchs Ahab, Jehoram (851–842 BCE) and Jehu (842–814 BCE) of the Northern Kingdom and the kings of Judah, Jehoram (851–843 BCE) and Ahaziah (843–842 BCE).³⁷ Another stele, the Moabite of king Mesah, mentions Omri (884–873 BCE) and his dynasty (in 1 Kings 16.22–23, Omri also founded a dynasty). It is particularly important that the Tel Dan Stele³⁸ and, more controvertibly, king Mesah's from Moab³⁹ refer to the "House of David" relative to Judah. Minimalist readings against this evidence of David's existence have been generally rejected.

At this point, the Bible tells that David reigned seven years and six months over Judah from Hebron and 33 years over all of Israel and Judah from Jerusalem (2 Samuel 5.5). Should the latter not be true, it is possible to inquire who were the sovereigns of the Northern Kingdom before the "House of Omri" was founded and if, as of today, archaeology really can discount that only one kingdom was formed in the tenth century BCE, between two entities whose traditional differences would generate further tensions.

³³ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 64–67.

³⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 155–157, 175.

³⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 162.

³⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 159–161.

³⁷ There is a different identification of the kings mentioned in the Tel Dan Stele in Athas (2003).

³⁸ Biran and Naveh 1993.

³⁹ Lemaire 1994.

The Conquests of David

Finkelstein and Silberman admit that David founded the Judah kings' dynasty⁴⁰ but say that with the scarce resources of their territory, as estimated by the number of their settlements, he could not have undertaken great conquests.⁴¹ This is the reason why certain passages assign them to the ninth century BCE instead of the tenth century BCE. Thus, the geography of the census carried out toward the end of David's reign would reflect the hypothetical joint lineages of both the Northern Kingdom and Judah in the ninth century BCE, and Davidian conquests in Moab and the Aramaean kingdoms, absent with the exception of Damascus in the documents of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, would have to be attributed to the Omrites.⁴² In favour of the latter interpretation they argue that the Hadadezer defeated by David in 2 Samuel 8.3–12 corresponds to the Aramaic name Adad-idri, king of Damascus in the monolithic inscription of Shalmaneser III referring to the battle of Qarqar.⁴³ However, the Hadadezer contemporaneous to David was the son of Rehob and king of Zobah, rather than the king of the Damascus Syrians who went to help him (2 Samuel 8.3 and 5), while the Hadadezer of the Qarqar battle, not mentioned in the Bible, corresponds to the Biblical Ben-Hadad, whose father was not Rehob, but Tab-Rimmon, son of Hezion, King of Aram who ruled over Damascus (1 Kings 15.18). This succession is confirmed by the so-called Melkart Stele set up by Bar-Hadad (Ben-Hadad), son of Tab-Rimmon (Tab-Rimmon), son of Hadyan (Hezion) king of Aram.

As to the already noted limitations of Judah, its chance to mobilise human resources would be increased by having a wider population of shepherds and cattle raisers instead of just settlers.⁴⁴ Cherethite and Pelethite warriors managed by David (2 Samuel 8.18; 15.18) also have to be accounted for. Against what Finkelstein and Silberman defend, in the case of the Cherethites it is arguable that they may represent an anachronism inspired by the existence of Cretan mercenaries in the seventh century BCE and, in the case of the Pelethites, an attempt to glorify the figure of David, showing that he had disposed of Greek mercenaries, and, at the same time, legitimate the economic and political co-operation of Judah with Egypt and its Greek troops.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 129.

⁴¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 191.

⁴² Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 100–101, 110–112.

⁴³ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 112.

⁴⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 41, 43.

⁴⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 291–292.

This approximation to Egypt's elite Greek troops is hardly compatible with the argument that the victory of David over Goliath, who would personify a warrior of hoplite instead of Mycenaean tradition, would be owed to the desire of a victory by Josiah over such troops.⁴⁶ Although Goliath's panoply can be ascribed to a warrior of either Mycenaean or hoplite tradition, a bronze panoply with some isolated iron elements is very appropriate for the tenth century BCE. Really surprising is the fact that the name Goliath is witnessed in the 10th or ninth century BCE, precisely in the Philistine city of Gath to which the biblical character is linked.⁴⁷ Coming back to David's military force, finally, it is possible that he may well have recruited part of his army north of Jerusalem if, according to Finkelstein and Silberman's estimations, he may have dominated Saul's old territories.⁴⁸ This territory had experienced a spectacular growth in its villages in the Late Iron I, followed by a crisis at the end of the tenth century BCE⁴⁹ provoked by the Egyptian invasion of Shishak,⁵⁰ but it is not understood, unless the purpose were to belittle him, that this crisis is linked to Solomon⁵¹ instead of the supposed division period, overcome after his reign, in which the Bible places the Shishak campaign (1 Kings 14.25–26).

For the time being, archaeology does not allow us to ascertain David's kingdom, although history is full of leaders who have conquered vast territories even at the expense of populations materially more evolved. In this case, a faster development of the northern lands, perhaps determined by their proximity to the Syro-Phoenician cities, would imply the repudiation and secession from a centralised power in Jerusalem, presumably maintained by the charisma of two successive monarchs rather than by its economic and demographic reality. The monumentality of Omri's Samaria in the north would mark the counterpoint to Jerusalem; however, what does archaeology tell us about this city?

Was Jerusalem a Power Centre in the Tenth Century BCE?

The main argument against the biblical splendour of David and Solomon's kingdoms is provided by Jerusalem's archaeological record, since although the material remains of Iron I surpass Late Bronze,⁵² its dimensions in the

⁴⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 199; see Finkelstein (2002) for a wider discussion about the Cherethites, Pelethites and Goliath.

⁴⁷ Two non-Semitic anthroponyms, one of which is similar to the Philistean Goliath (*Alwt*), appear in a Semitic inscription over ceramic support found in Gath, the city of Goliath.

⁴⁸ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 84.

⁴⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 67–71.

⁵⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 78, 81.

⁵¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 70.

⁵² Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 51.

tenth century BCE were extraordinarily reduced. Notwithstanding, the Bible does not assert that Jerusalem was a great city at that time, but rather the opposite. David took a Jebusite fortress, which would become the “City of David”, and built around it, from Millo toward the inside (2 Samuel 5.7 and 9).⁵³ Hiram, king of Tyre, sent him cedar timber, carpenters and quarry workers to build his palace (2 Samuel 5.11). Later, he went up to a threshing floor which belonged to a Jebusite named Araunah, bought it and erected an altar to Yahweh (2 Samuel 24.16 and 18–25), supposed to be the predecessor of Solomon’s temple. This means that both the Bible and the archaeological record coincide in assigning Jerusalem a limited extent.

During Solomon’s reign there are no urban references either. However, certain Deuteronomist exaggerations tend to create the false perception for the reader that Jerusalem was a great city: for instance, the thousands of workers employed in the construction of the temple (1 Kings 5.13–16), their wives and concubines, the supplies received, the thousands of stalls for chariot horses and other horses, *etc.* (1 Kings 4.22–35; 9.19; 10.26; 11.3), although the number of wives and concubines would refer to a long reign⁵⁴ and the stalls for horses would refer to the whole territory. It remains to be determined whether tenth century BCE Jerusalem should be understood as a place with few homes but with the presence of two power buildings — a temple and a palace — as symbols of the political centralisation that mirror changes in the organisation of rural communities. This urban model does not differ in essence from the Northern Kingdom cities in the ninth century BCE, with few inhabited quarters and monumental buildings reserved for the elites controlling rural territories,⁵⁵ nor from the weak Canaanite cities preceding them.⁵⁶ There are also two powerful biblical reasons justifying the election of Jerusalem by David: since his birth and youth, his more faithful allies were in its surroundings and, immersed in a farmer’s territory, it had a defensive fortress. Against this centralisation of power it is certain that south of Jerusalem Iron I sites were scarce, but not so scarce in the old territory of Saul next to the north.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the lack of evidence of monumental constructions in the tenth century BCE is not as conclusive

⁵³ According to 1 Kings 11.27, Solomon built the Millo, filling an existing pocket in the “City of David”.

⁵⁴ The Bible assigns 40 years to the kingdom of Solomon (1 Kings 11.42). Although this period turns out to be very doubtful by its coincidence with the one assigned to the kingdom of David (1 Kings 2.11), it is not contradictory with the biblical text, since David died at a late age and the events related to Solomon imply a lengthy reign. With great historical reliability, Manasseh reigned in Judah for 55 years (698–642 BCE).

⁵⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 193–194.

⁵⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 77.

⁵⁷ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, fig. 15.

as Finkelstein and Silberman sometimes dictate,⁵⁸ although the fortress, palace and temple require archaeological confirmation. Starting with the Jebusite fortress, a part of it has seemingly been appreciated in the remains of a great construction over terraces known as the “Stepped Stone Structure”. The most recent ceramics between the stones of components 3, 4 and 5 differentiated in this structure have been ascribed to Iron IIA, whereas the lower part of component 2 (the “Stepped Stone Mantle”) perhaps could be dated at late Iron IIA or early Iron IIB.⁵⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman give to the “Stepped Stone Structure”, let it sustain a fortress or a palace, a temporary margin starting from Late Bronze with Abdi-Heba, a leader at Jerusalem in the Amarna letters in the 14th century BCE.⁶⁰ They also accept that some of the underlying terraces could have been in use in the tenth century BCE,⁶¹ just as was a subterranean water duct next to the “Stepped Stone Structure” from the Middle Bronze, identified by some with the one utilised by David in 2 Samuel 5.8 in order to conquest the Jebusite fortress.⁶² They also consider that the chambers carved in the rock close to the southern border of the “City of David”, attributed to the tombs of the Judah kings, remain a mystery.⁶³ This is not consistent with the complete disregard of these works of the tenth century BCE in other references. Moreover, in view of the “Stepped Stone Structure” and the proto-Aeolian capital discussed (*vide supra*), they do not discount a temple and a palace of considerable size in the ninth century BCE as well as a former temple and palace of more modest size.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the assertion that a palace built by Hiram for David seems out of place for the context that the historical David would have known⁶⁵ is questionable, since in the tenth century BCE there are traces of Phoenician contacts with the mainland.⁶⁶

Another monumental construction located 200 m south of the Temple Mount, the “Large Stone Structure”, sits over an “earth accumulation” from which ceramics — several from the Middle Bronze, a few from Late Bronze and most from Iron I — were exhumed,⁶⁷ and recorded three radiocarbon dates compatible with the chronological amplitude determined by

⁵⁸ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 80, 94–95.

⁵⁹ Finkelstein *et al.* 2007, pp. 151–152.

⁶⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 51–52.

⁶¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 270.

⁶² Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 271.

⁶³ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 272.

⁶⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 105.

⁶⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 109–110.

⁶⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 76–77.

⁶⁷ Mazar 2006, p. 25.

the ceramics.⁶⁸ This new structure, which unfortunately lacks any floor, was dated by its investigator to the tenth century BCE and biblically identified, with reservations, with David's palace, due to its location next to and above the "Stepped Stone Structure", for, following 2 Samuel 5.17, David went down (presumably from his palace) to the fortress at the Philistine threat.⁶⁹ Later both structures were assigned to a single complex.⁷⁰ Finkelstein *et al.* date the walls of the "Large Stone Structure" between Iron I / early Iron IIA and the Herodian period⁷¹ and think that the "earth accumulation" over which it sits would not be justified by an *in situ* activity given its small thickness, but by a fill or a make-up for construction that had been brought here from elsewhere.⁷² However, this interpretation would still date the beginning of the structure preferably at the Iron I, because if Jerusalem was so insignificant at that time, the lack of more recent ceramics from the place of origin of the earths used in the fill is surprising. Their absence below the supposed fill is also strange, unless the location remained unpopulated from the Chalcolithic period or Early Bronze Age⁷³ or else, an unlikely hypothesis, before the construction, an emptying might have taken place to be refilled with earths from a different location. Contemplating now the possibility of a very old sanctuary at Temple Mount, Finkelstein and Silberman recognise that certain constructions might have been destroyed or buried by later ones like the colossal Herod Temple⁷⁴ and so any debate about the architectural history of the temple should be purely speculative.⁷⁵ In their opinion, an early version of the construction of the temple might have been written at the time of Hezekiah (727–698 BCE),⁷⁶ when it already held a grandiosity that was too big a fit for Solomon, to whom, lacking the necessary resources, just the possibility of a modest sanctuary is awarded.⁷⁷ Later on, at a date somewhat before Josiah (639–609 BCE), perhaps an ample description of it could be dated.⁷⁸

If it is just a matter of luck that in spite of constructive and destructive activities in Jerusalem during the last 3000 years, both the "Stepped Stone

⁶⁸ Mazar 2007, p. 49.

⁶⁹ Mazar 2006.

⁷⁰ Mazar 2007, pp. 46, 64.

⁷¹ Finkelstein *et al.* 2007, p. 154.

⁷² Finkelstein *et al.* 2007, pp. 147–149.

⁷³ The deepest level; Finkelstein *et al.* 2007, p. 147.

⁷⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 95.

⁷⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 173.

⁷⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 141–142.

⁷⁷ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 172.

⁷⁸ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 205.

Structure” and the “Large Stone Structure” have been preserved as laconic witnesses of what actually were buildings of great significance, any pronouncement about constructions of the tenth century BCE in the Temple Mount, whilst the political-religious status continues to prevent its archaeological investigation, will have to be founded in a reasoned analysis of the texts. At least it is sure that the temple destroyed by the Babylonians in 587 BCE was in place much earlier than the end of the eighth century BCE, for the Deuteronomist could not have assigned a false antiquity to a building which was in everybody’s sight and was perfectly known. Other than this, the proposed constructions of Jerusalem had little to do with the Israelites’ capabilities, since the “City of David” was a Jebusite fortress and David’s Palace and Solomon’s Temple were Phoenician works (the Deuteronomist assigned to idolaters the construction of the House of the Lord!). Perhaps it could be convenient to pay more attention to Phoenician influence in the period of the Old Israel. This being said, the fact that Jerusalem does not appear among the cities conquered by Shoshenk I (identified with Shishak) in the Karnak Portico can be explained, because each prisoner is shown by the name of his conquered city and Jerusalem was not conquered, although, presumably, it had to pay a tribute (1 Kings 14.25-26).

From the above we may conclude that although Jerusalem was far from reaching the dimensions of a great city in the tenth century BCE, nothing excludes that it may have been a centre with power buildings.

Tarshish and Writing in Israel

The absence of signs of scribal activity and an extended literacy in Judah constitutes, to Finkelstein and Silberman, another substantial proof that Jerusalem was not a remarkable settlement during the time of David and Solomon. They attribute the accounts about David to bards of the ninth century BCE, when a royal court would have been instituted,⁷⁹ after which they were transmitted by oral vehicle until their redaction towards the end of the eighth century BCE.⁸⁰ It is thus that the inscription of Siloh tunnel in the times of Hezekiah would come to represent the first utilisation of writing in a public notice.⁸¹ Against this *argumentum ex silentio*, a series of inscriptions, occasionally interpreted as writing exercises, is invoked in

⁷⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 117.

⁸⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 33, 37, 53, 122–123, 134.

⁸¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 133.

favour of the early emergence of scribes in Judah. For their importance and dating in the tenth century BCE the “Gezer calendar” and the Tel Zayit inscription stand out, some 46 km northwest and 56 km southwest of Jerusalem respectively.⁸² Although limited, these texts at least accredit the early introduction in Judah and its surroundings of an alphabetic writing linked to Phoenician and one could consider the existence of a single scribe so that a recording of the more outstanding events would have taken place.⁸³ Somewhat more recently, *ca.* 850 BCE, the inscription of king Mesah of Moab turns out to be most enlightening from many perspectives: Moabite, like Hebrew, writing is linked to Phoenician; Moab was not more developed than its neighbour Judah; both the terminology and phraseology used were practically identical to the biblical ones; it tells of events of interest to the Bible, such as, coinciding with 2 Kings 1.1 and 3.4–27, Moab’s rebellion against Israel, its bovid vocation, and the 40-year reign of the “House of Omri”; it also remarks that Mesah built a palace. But, above all, the existence by the mid-ninth century BCE, at the latest, of scribes who since their childhood might have received information about events dating from the tenth century BCE by word of mouth of those who had preceded them by one or two generations (parents and grandparents) is of utmost interest. Consequently, if we disregard plausible records in parchment or papyrus and we consider the Mesah Stele to be the oldest historical document produced in the region, we can not dismiss the existence in Judah and the Northern Kingdom — geographically located between Moab and the Phoenician cities that so much influenced the broadcast of writing⁸⁴ — of scribes informed about events from Solomon’s times.

Amongst the events worth contemplating are the Tarshish voyages. It has already been remarked that products from the pre-colonial epoch demonstrated in Huelva, coinciding with those mentioned in 1 Kings 10.22, would hardly have been imagined two centuries later by any Deuteronomist writer. The arrival of these riches must have had a strong echo in Syria-Palestine and, as shown above, it is not possible to reject any record, whether original or not far away from Phoenician or Israelite sources. A different issue is to what extent Solomon’s character could be over-dimensioned or even lately included in the narrative. Finkelstein and Silberman appreciate in

⁸² Tappy *et al.* 2006.

⁸³ We obviate any biblical reference to a *mazkir* (from Hebrew “remember”) or chronicler and to a *sopher*, secretary or scribe, in the kingdoms of David (2 Samuel 8.16-17; 20.24-25) and Solomon (1 Kings 4.3).

⁸⁴ Naveh 1987.

the Tarshish voyages an attempt to match Solomon with later monarchs of the Northern Kingdom, claiming that as *they* did he sailed to the high seas to search for treasures,⁸⁵ but such enterprises are alien to those monarchs. They also claim a lack of contemporaneous extra-biblical documents about a king Hiram during the time of David and Solomon, as they claim the demonstration of a later Hiram who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III and the probable identification of Tarshish with Tarsus in southeast Turkey,⁸⁶ but these later arguments lack any consistency.

The lack of extra-biblical references to a king Hiram of Tyre in the tenth century BCE is not surprising given the utilisation of papyrus or parchment by the Phoenicians for their records⁸⁷ and the non-existence of Syrian, Assyrian and Egyptian sources about the rulers of the tenth century BCE in the region (David being a fortunate exception).⁸⁸ In spite of this, the interpretation of some texts raises the possibility that silence might just be apparent. Hiram was a common name among Phoenician monarchs and there are no reasons to identify the Hiram (II) who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III relative to the Assyrian campaigns of 734–732 BCE with the Hiram (I) mentioned in 1 Kings 10.22, since the latter also appears in Flavius Josephus' list of the kings of Tyre, which does not have to be inspired by the Bible as they suggest,⁸⁹ for Flavius Josephus stresses that the authors he follows, Dios and Menander the Ephesian, are based on Tyrian chronicles (*Antiquities of the Jews* VIII 5.3; *Against Apion* I 18). Besides, except for Hiram (I) and Ithobalus, whose daughter Jezebel was consort to Ahab of Israel according to 1 Kings 16.31, the following kings of Tyre that he reckons to come after Menander are unknown to the Bible: Abibalus, Hiram (I), Baleazarus, Abdastartus, a usurper of unknown name, Astartus, Aserimus, Pheles, Ithobalus (I), Badezorus, Matgenus (I) and Pygmalion. Some questions are raised by the Hiram, king of the Sidonians, from the inscription on a bronze bowl in Limassol.⁹⁰ Other Hiram is the one quoted by Flavius Josephus (Hiram III) amongst the last sovereigns of Tyre (*Against Apion* I 21) and, lastly, Ahiar of Gebal (Byblos) known by the famous inscription in his limestone sarcophagus.

⁸⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 176.

⁸⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 173–174.

⁸⁷ *The History of Unamon*, ca. 1075 BCE, mentions scribes in the court of Zakarbaal of Byblos and the existence of royal records among the predecessors of this king.

⁸⁸ The same explanation would justify the lack of extra-biblical references to Saul (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 64).

⁸⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 174.

⁹⁰ Lipiński 2004, pp. 47–48.

As to the reduction Tarshish-Tarsus, it is an erroneous proposal for several reasons. Although the Tarsus contour can yield metals, including silver and tin, an exploitation linked to the Phoenicians of all products indicated in the Bible (gold, silver, ivory, iron, tin and lead)⁹¹, some of which are referred to at a time long before to the Deuteronomist redaction, is not documented. Tarsus is not at the great distance from Tyre shown in biblical references, Esharhaddon's inscription, Polybius' testimony and, perhaps, the Nora Stele (*vide supra*), nor in the route to Tarshish established by Jonah 1.3.⁹² Even Ufaz, the gold supplier quoted with Tarshish in Jeremiah 10.9, could correspond to Northwest Africa, so far from Tarsus and off Huelva. Moreover, if it were Tarsus, the Phoenicians would not have exploited the rich raw materials of Tarshish and surroundings with such a lack of contenders. This identification is not less controverted by showing Tarshish near some supposed sites of Asia Minor in Genesis 10.4 and Isaiah 66.19. Genesis 10.4 cites Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim, the toponyms veiling these anthroponyms, and their consideration as sons of Javan (Ionians) in some cases, being rather problematic.⁹³ Ezekiel 27.7 informs that the islands or coastline of Elishah produced and exported purple dye to Tyre, this industry being associated with the Phoenicians. As far as Isaiah 66.19 is concerned, Tarshish is cited before Put, Lud, Tabal and Javan. As this verse was written after the exile to Babylon, Tarshish already could have been mistaken with Tarsus, although its mention before Put (the Libyans) might be considered. As a last instance,

⁹¹ Finkelstein and Silberman (2006, p. 152) accept versions (targumim) interpreting the Hebrew *t(w)kyyim* of 1 Kings 10.22 as peacocks, when it happens to be an unresolved term (Koch 1984, p. 14) or, according to Professor Heltzer in a kind personal communication, it is a *hapax* and that *hapax*, specifically, can mean anything. On the other hand, Finkelstein and Silberman (2006, p. 174) admit as probable the identification of Tarshish with Tarsus, where there are no peacocks.

⁹² Although of likely post-exilic redaction, several scholars defend that the Book of Jonah incorporates a former tradition, perhaps from the 8th century BCE. The sailing of a ship (undoubtedly Phoenician) stopping at Joppa (Yafo) on the way to Tarshish, besides being inadequate to reach Tarsus, dates the origin of the narrative before the exile into Babylon since, by then, Phoenician trade relations with the far Occident had already been interrupted. It is interesting to remark that Jonah's ambit does not belong to Judah but to the Northern Kingdom.

⁹³ It is as forced to consider Tarsus an offspring of the Greeks as it is to consider Huelva the same thing. A western Tarshish linked to the Greeks has wanted to be identified with the Ionians who reached Tartessus (Dhorme, 1932, p. 46). The archaeological finds of later decades allow for the identification of the protohistorical habitat of Huelva with the city-emporium of the Tartessus of written sources (González de Canales, 2004 pp. 279-334; González de Canales *et al.* 2007). Amongst these finds thousands of ceramic fragments stand out and some graffiti of the same ascription which ensure an important Greek presence between the ends of 7th century BCE and mid 6th century BCE. Around this time Huelva had reached an extension of around 20 hectares densely populated (house after house) with an urbanism of oriental style.

Tarsus is *Tarzi* or *Tarzu* in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions,⁹⁴ as confirmed by Phoenician coins from the Persian period bearing the graphic *Trz*,⁹⁵ whereas Tarshish is *Tarsisi* in the Esharhaddon inscription.

In Semitic, the difference between *Trz* and *Trš(y)š* or cuneiform *Tarzi/u* and *Tarsisi* is conspicuous.⁹⁶ Very likely, the Hebrews of the post-deportation epoch identified the Persian term for Tarsus with the old Tarshish. It is the same incorrect identification that Flavius Josephus made in his paraphrase of Genesis 10.4 (*Antiquities of the Jews*, I 6.1) and Jonah 1.3 (*Antiquities of the Jews*, IX 10.2). Consequently, the reduction Tarshish-Tarsus is inadmissible as much from the textual analysis as it is from archaeological and historical logic.

Ezion-Geber and the Ophir Voyage

An agreement between Hiram and Solomon allowed Phoenician experts to build ships (or only a single ship: *vide* note 14) at Ezion-geber to sail to Ophir (1 Kings 9.26–28).⁹⁷ As in the voyages to Tarshish, the protagonists were once again Phoenicians from Tyre. Later on, Jehoshaphat (870–846 BCE) built ships of Tarshish in an attempt to reopen this maritime route, but the ships sank at Ezion-geber itself (1 Kings 22.48–49).⁹⁸ Although for some the voyage to Ophir is a myth, Finkelstein and Silberman do not avert that, in Genesis 10.28–29, Ophir appears together with Sheba,⁹⁹ doubtlessly in Southern Arabia,¹⁰⁰ and they also remark the existence in Yemen of remains of the Iron Age prior to the eighth century BCE.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Täckholm 1965, p. 159; Tyloch 1978, p. 48; Tsirkin 1986, p. 180.

⁹⁵ Tyloch 1978, n. 26; Tsirkin 1986, p. 180.

⁹⁶ Lipiński 2004, p. 262; as to the Tarshish of Esther, it might derive from the Persian *trsus*, meaning “avid” (Tyloch, 1978, n. 5).

⁹⁷ There must have been just one voyage to Ophir since, “No such *almuggīm* wood has come or been seen to this day” (1 Kings 10.12) and, other than Tarshish, except for the later failed attempt of Jehoshaphat, the Bible does not tell again of any navigations to that place.

⁹⁸ Against the case of Jehoshaphat, in the times of Hiram / Solomon no ships of Tarshish are mentioned relative to Ophir. If it is due to the fact that the Phoenicians had not yet sailed to the place from which the ships had taken their name, the first navigations to Tarshish would have to be dated, provisionally, towards the ends of Hiram I’s reign.

⁹⁹ The famous voyage of the Queen of Sheba has been considered as an anachronistic literary piece of the 7th century BCE tending to magnify the figure of Solomon (Na’aman 1997, p. 73) and, also, to legitimate the participation of Judah in Arabian trade (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 171).

¹⁰⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 167.

¹⁰¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 170–171. Ophir’s location is subject to speculation. In Genesis 10.28–29 it appears between Sheba and Havilah, another auriferous region in Genesis 2.11. Attending to caravan trade up to Assyria and a Saba / Sheba being demonstrated

The toponym is also attested in an inscription at Tell Qasile.¹⁰² It would seem that the issue resides in the fact that Tell el-Kheleifeh, provisionally identified with Ezion-geber given its location at the northern tip of the Gulf of Aqaba, was nothing more than a sand dune until the end of the eighth century BCE.¹⁰³ However, neither these verses nor any other reference in Numbers 33.35–36 and Deuteronomy 2.8 mention any harbour building at Ezion-geber and archaeology does not prove that the Ophir voyage would not have taken place but, as could be expected given the absence of any relevant nautical tradition among the semi-nomadic peoples of the zone, just points out the non-existence on the Edomite coastline of the Red Sea of such buildings in the tenth century BCE. Nonetheless, considering that in order to build a ship at the seaside one only needs timber, resin (tar) and vegetal fibres (burlap) for calking, vegetal fibre rope, canvas for the sails, adequate carpentry tools and, above all, good shipbuilding carpenters, it does not seem that archaeology, except for the unexpected emergence of a confirming inscription, could say much about this question. As to Jehoshaphat's failed attempt, most reasonably due to lack of carpenters and expert Phoenician sailors, why such invention? The tergiversation of the author of 2 Chronicles 20.35–37, including Eliezer's prophecy, tries to blame the failure on the participation in the project of the impious Ahaziah of the Northern Kingdom (852–851 BCE) when, explicitly, Jehoshaphat rejected his support in 1 Kings 22.49. He also mistakes the ships of Tarshish sailing to Ophir with ships sailing to Tarshish. This error does not seem to be intentional, it rather points to the lack of knowledge of a Hebrew from the 4th century BCE about the actual location of many of the sites mentioned in the sacred books when Tarshish very likely was just a theme.¹⁰⁴ The same circumstance would explain the faulty identification of Tarshish with Tarsus. From another perspective, a Phoenician voyage through the Red Sea in the tenth century BCE required some kind of accord with the populations from Edom to the Gulf of Aqaba. Was it ever possible? In principle, although Edom would have been inhabited just by nomadic

in Southern Arabia in the Mesopotamian tablets from Hindanu of the 8th century BCE, the hypothesis of an Ophir in the West of Arabia has been considered as most plausible (Kitchen 1997, p. 145). Just as at the departing place (Ezion-geber), it is most unlikely that the proposed journey to Ophir in the 10th century BCE will have left any trace in the final destination. Nor in Africa has any Phoenician vestige been observed relative to the ivory and ostrich egg exploitation demonstrated in Huelva during the emporial-precolonial phase.

¹⁰² Maisler (Mazar) 1950–1951, p. 104, fig. 13f; pp. 209–210; pl. 38A.

¹⁰³ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 174, 284. Another possible location proposed for Ezion-geber has been the isle of Jezirat Faraun or environs in the Gulf of Aqaba.

¹⁰⁴ Blázquez 1980, p. 36.

shepherds before the seventh century BCE and there would not be a strong power,¹⁰⁵ the demonstration of continued cupriferous exploitations during the Iron Age in the Feinan Region, at the eastern bank of Wadi Arabah,¹⁰⁶ introduces some changes in the panorama. Among the production centres, Khirbet en-Nahas stands out.¹⁰⁷ Progressively, a network of settlements on the east to west caravan route in the tenth century BCE has also been attested, Tel Masos in the Wadi Beer-sheba standing out as an intermediate centre in the copper trade of the Arabah mining centres and perhaps also of produce from Arabia and the Phoenician-Philistine coast, with which some cultural contacts are confirmed.¹⁰⁸ In view of these findings and independently of the degree of influence of the “House of David” over Edom, an accord of the Phoenicians with the inhabitants of Judah and the Edomites to access the Red Sea does not seem unfeasible. On the contrary, it is difficult to believe that the voyage to Ophir in the time of Solomon was a seventh century BCE fiction inspired at the moment in which Judah participated in the lucrative Arabian commerce under Assyrian control,¹⁰⁹ for the voyage is not planned through a land route but by seafaring and it is mainly a Phoenician enterprise. As hard to believe is the fact that Jehoshaphat’s attempt may represent the echo of an effort by Judah in the ninth century BCE to control commercial routes with the help of the Northern Kingdom, or that it may have been confused with posterior commercial activities through the Red Sea,¹¹⁰ for Jehoshaphat rejected the help of Ahaziah, the trade route that he attempts to reopen is maritime, not overland, and we ignore which supposed further activities through the Red Sea would actually have inspired the verses. Perhaps we are not facing a myth but some fragments of very old history, some of those “kernels” of historical truth about David and Solomon that Finkelstein and Silberman admit.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 40, 68.

¹⁰⁶ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷ Levy *et al.* 2004. The Phoenician ceramics belong to the second half of the 11th century or the beginning of the 10th century BCE according to traditional absolute dating (Artzy (2006), and, together with the bronze hoard at Tell Jatt made from copper from Feinan mines, have dramatically confirmed the Phoenician metallurgical activities in the region at that period. Finkelstein (2005) expresses some chronological doubts about Khirbet en-Nahas and relates the attested mining activity in this center with the Beer-sheba Valley or the Negev Mountains instead of with the old history of Edom.

¹⁰⁸ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, pp. 76–77.

¹⁰⁹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 143.

¹¹⁰ Finkelstein and Silberman 2006, p. 104.

¹¹¹ Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, p. 23.

Conclusions

The perception of a great city of Jerusalem in the tenth century BCE, which is archaeologically unsustainable, or even the idea of a settlement accomplishing the minimum requisites of a city must be replaced by the more realistic view of a power centre with a fortress, a palace and a temple, although the demonstration of these buildings might face the difficulties stemming from profound urban transformations over time. Notwithstanding, as far as the fortress and the palace are concerned, there are some structures suggesting a monumental construction. As to the temple, circumstances preventing investigation in the Temple Mount impede any archaeological approximation; however, the tradition ought to be backtracked to a date much earlier than the end of the eighth century BCE when, most plausibly, it was recorded in writing. Finally, the Stele of king Mesah of Moab attests the existence of scribes who might have transmitted trustworthy news about events of the tenth century BCE, among which the navigations to Tarshish should be considered. It is also licit to postulate the use of parchment or papyrus and that the inscriptions preserved in stone may only represent a minuscule part of the written documents. Although in this article, besides claiming the identification of Tarshish with Huelva throughout texts and archaeology, we have criticised the critiques of some biblical questions affecting Jerusalem and Phoenician navigations to the far Occident, we must however recognise the importance of revisionists' analysis, not just for the part of reason they may put forward but, fundamentally, because they have driven us to face the historical reliability of the Bible with the maximum rigour which is possible nowadays.

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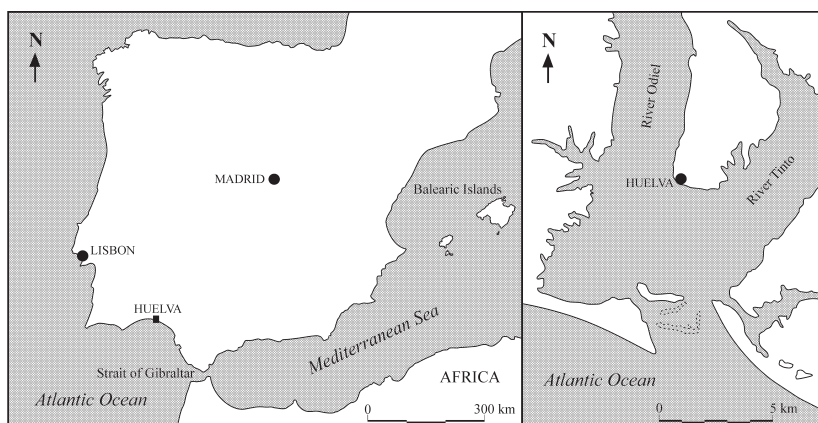


Fig. 1.

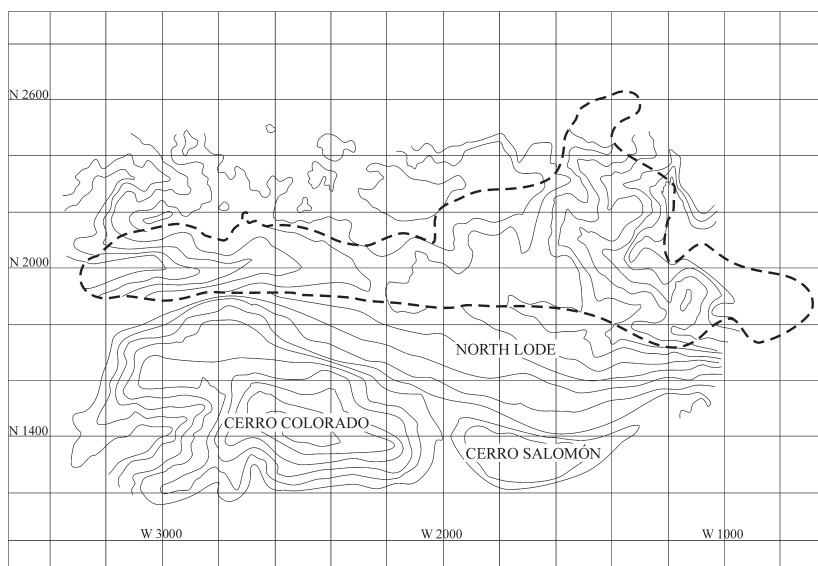


Fig. 2.

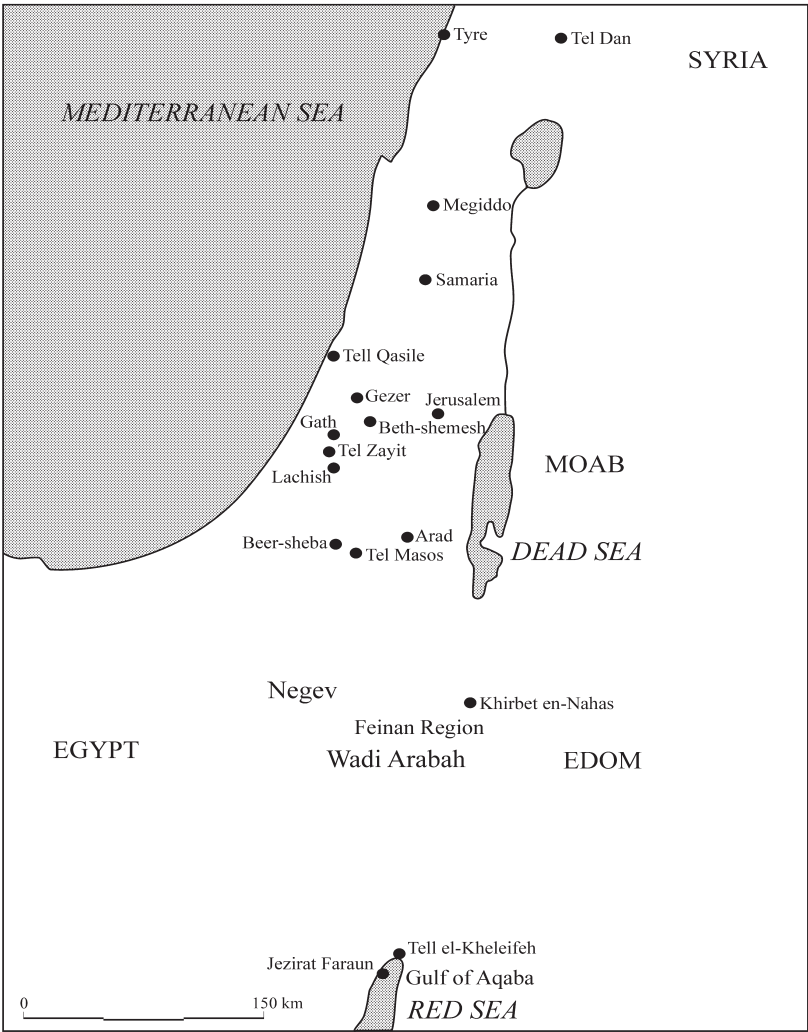


Fig. 3.

Excavations at Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi, the Araxes Valley, Northwest Iran: First Preliminary Report

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Abstract

*Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi is an ancient mound site in the Araxes (Aras) River valley, in the Khodāāfarin delta. It was surveyed and excavated as part of the Khoda Afarin dam project. This paper presents the preliminary results of those investigations. Five cultural phases have been recognized, which has accompanying radiocarbon dates. Evidence suggests that the site was continually occupied from the Late Chalcolithic through to the end of the Early Bronze Age. The changes that did occur appear to have been gradual and not disruptive.**

Introduction

Despite increasing archaeological research in northwestern Iran over the past decade, published data from this region is still scant. Publication of archaeological research in northwest Iran is primarily limited to work in the

* The first season of excavation at the site was carried out by the Eastern Azerbaijan branch of the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization from March to May 2007. Subsequent seasons of excavations were carried out by an Iranian Center for Archaeological Research team. I would also like to thank Hamed Egbal who helped, accompanied, and advised me in fieldwork and other aspects of this project. I also thank Parvin Ranjbari for the rendition of pots. Ceramic photos were taken by Jale Abbasi, to whom I am also grateful. Thanks to Holly Pitman, Kamyar Abdi, Karim Alizadeh and Ali Zalaghi who, made useful suggestions to me. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Antonio Sagona, who kindly helped me during the preparation of this paper.

Urmia basin which was carried out more than a few decades ago: this includes excavations at Geoy Tepe,¹ Hasanlu,² Hajji Firuz Tepe,³ Dalma Tepe⁴ and Pisdeli Tepe,⁵ Dinkha Tepe,⁶ Yanik Tepe,⁷ Haftvan Tepe,⁸ Gol Tepe,⁹ Ahranjan Tepe,¹⁰ Kordlar Tepe,¹¹ and Gijlar Tepe,¹² as well as surveys in northwest Iran,¹³ Salmas valley¹⁴ and Solduz plain,¹⁵ around Lake Urmia,¹⁶ and in the Meshkinshahr area.¹⁷ Since the 1979 Revolution, archaeological research has included systematic surveys at Baruj Tepe¹⁸ and in the Mughan plain,¹⁹ and excavations at Nader Tepesi,²⁰ and Qosha Tepe in the Meshkinshahr area.²¹ There have also been many surveys and excavations carried out that have so far not been published.

From this brief list of field research carried out in the region, one can see that a basic problem is not the lack of excavations or surveys, but a serious deficiency in reliable publication. In an effort to address this problem, I will present in this short article a summary of the results of excavations at the site of Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi in the Araxes (Aras) river valley. This project was undertaken with the financial and logistic support of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (ICAR), under the direction of Mr J. Babapiri. Preliminary surveys²² collected from the surface pottery of the Chalcolithic, Bronze and probably Iron Ages, as well as the Parthian period. I was responsible for excavating and analysing the prehistoric material. The present paper will present the prehistoric levels based on excavation at trenches T6 and T6B.

¹ Burton-Brown 1951.

² Dyson 1972, 1973, 1983.

³ Voigt 1983.

⁴ Hamlin 1975.

⁵ Dyson and Young 1960; Hamlin 1975.

⁶ Dyson 1967a; Hamlin 1974.

⁷ Burney 1961, 1962, 1964; Summers 1982.

⁸ Burney 1970a, 1970b, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1979a; Edwards 1981, 1983.

⁹ Talae'i 1977.

¹⁰ Talae'i 1983.

¹¹ Kromer and Lippert 1976; Lippert 1976.

¹² Pecorella and Salvini 1984.

¹³ Swiny 1975.

¹⁴ Kearton 1969, 1970.

¹⁵ Dyson 1967b.

¹⁶ Kroll 2005, p. 116.

¹⁷ Burney 1979b; Ingraham and Summers 1979.

¹⁸ Alizadeh 2001.

¹⁹ Alizadeh and Ur 2007.

²⁰ Alizadeh 2007.

²¹ Nobari and Purfaraj 2005.

²² Feizkhah 2002.

Geographical Location and Geology

Khodäāfarin delta, which is formed by Káleybár Chäy (Kaleybar River) on the south bank of the Araxes (Aras) River, is a part of the Kura-Araxes lowland which lies in the northern part of northwestern Iran (Fig. 1: 1). This delta is located about 33 km north of the city of Káleybár and 34 km off the Ahár-Káleybár road and is bound by the Araxes River in the north, Káleybár province in the south, and the city of Varziqan to the west.

From a geological point of view, the Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi (KPT) is located on the alluvial fan of Káleybár Chäy (46° 56' 40" E and 39° 8' 23" N), which flows through the flood plain of the Araxes and is the most important permanent river in the region (Fig. 1: 2). The low dip-flat sedimentary layers in this area are mainly formed of inter-bedded layers of clay, immature grit and silt, and highly organic layers consisting of plant material and micro-skeletal fragments.

The fertile soils of the Khodäāfarin are fed by many streams, rivers, and springs, providing a rich agricultural environment. The importance of fertile soils and accessible sources of water has been manifest in the Old World from the very beginning of the Neolithic period²³ and it is on the sediments of this alluvial feature that numerous archaeological sites are located, primarily in the form of settlement mounds, or tells, like Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi and its satellite sites such as Köhné Tepesi, or modern villages such as Shoja'lu, Máfrüzlü and Aliäbäd.

Description of the Site and a Synopsis of Previous Investigations

Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi is located between the villages of Máfrüzlü and Shoja'lu, and is part of the administrative district of Káleybár in East Azerbaijan province, Iran. It is located on the south bank of the Araxes valley in the Khodäāfarin area (Fig. 1: 1). The site is one of several that will be submerged by the Khodäāfarin dam project. During the rescue survey project carried out in 2006, 42 sites were discovered²⁴ and in July 2006 salvage excavations were begun at three sites: Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi, Köhné Tepesi and Pöhrüz Tepesi. Prior to these salvage excavations no archaeological work had been carried out in the district.

Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi is situated about 330 m above sea level. The mound is currently preserved to a length of 50 m, width of 48 m, and height of

²³ Sherratt 1980; Roberts 1991; van Andel and Runnels, 1995.

²⁴ Feizkhah 2006.

18 m above the plain (Fig. 1: 3). Based on site dimensions and the distribution of surface material, the site was originally about 0.5 hectares. Unfortunately, the site was damaged by agricultural activities, and its surface was leveled off by a bulldozer prior to the revolution to build a *pāsgāh* (gendarmérie outpost), hence the name of the site is 'Köhné Pāsgāh' ('the old outpost'). Close to the site, there are two other mounds: Köhné Tepesi (about 111 m from Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi) and Pöhrüz Tepesi (about 330 m away). Currently both of these sites are under investigation by other archaeological teams. According to our colleagues, Köhné Tepesi can be dated to the Early Bronze Age and Pöhrüz Tepesi to the Parthian period.

On the top of Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi are remains of the Parthian period including a large mud-brick structure. Beneath this structure is another architectural level; unfortunately the pottery from this level is scarce, however it seems to belong to the Iron Age. After a gap, the prehistoric layers can be recognised.

Excavations at Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi

Before the excavations, the site and parts of the surrounding area were surveyed and mapped, and a grid system of 50×50 m squares was superimposed on the site. We then divided these large squares into smaller squares of 5×5 m, which were the units of excavation. A bulldozer ditch in the southern part of the site had exposed thick layers of prehistoric period. We therefore began excavations in trenches MjVII (4×4 m) and NkVII (2×3 m) (Fig. 2: 1) in this area.

Five settlement phases can be discerned in the stratigraphy (Table 1). The lowest phase (Phase I) contains Chalcolithic deposits. The upper ones, numbered Phases II, III, IV, V, contain Early Bronze Age deposits. The five phases together are about 4 m deep (Fig. 3).

Apart from the stratigraphic evidence and radiocarbon dating,²⁵ comparison of the pottery from excavation with the material from other sites both to the north and the south of the Araxes valley suggests that the site was continuously occupied from the Late Chalcolithic through to the Early Bronze Age (I, II, III?).²⁶

In this report, I will introduce the Late Chalcolithic period (Kura-Araxes I), and the EBA phases, with particular emphasis on the stratigraphy, architecture and detailed information about ceramic sequence.

²⁵ Five C-14 samples were sent to a laboratory of Oxford University and the results will be published later.

²⁶ Maziar 2008.

Period	Type of Deposit	Locus	Phase	
Transitional Period				
Bronze age?	Collapse/Occupation	6026	V	5
	Collapse/Occupation	6027	IV	
	Pise(chineh) Structure?	6028	III	
	Burnt layer	6029	II	
	Floor	6030	I	
E.BII.III?	Mudbrick collapse	6032,33,34,35,36	I	4c
	Mudbrick collapse	6042,43,6054	III	4b
	Mudbrick structure	6037	II	
	Floor	6047	I	
?	Pit	6058	I	4a?
	Pit	6079	?	
E.B.II	Mudbrick collapse	6045,46	II	3d
	Mudbrick collapse	6048,49	I	
	Floor	6051	II	3c
	Pit	6056	I	
	Mudbrick collapse	6053,6055	VI	3b
	Manqal(hearth)	6057	V	
	Pit	6060	IV	
	Floor	6061	III	
	Floor	6062	II	
	Floor	6063,64	I	
	Manqal (andiron)	6066	IV	3a
	Pit	6068	III	
	Wall	6044	II	
	Pit	6070,6073	I	
E.B.I(K.A.II)	Pit; ash and green layer with Mudbrick debris	6065	II	2
	Pit	6069,6071	I	
Late Chalcolithic(K.A.I)	Occupation layer	6072,6075	IV	1
	Pit	6074	III	
	Pit	6076	II	
	pit	6077	I	
Virgin Soil				

Table 1: Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi

Late Chalcolithic Period

One of the important results was the discovery of Late Chalcolithic remains. There is no evidence of this period recorded from other sites in the area (Köhné Tepesi and Pöhrüz Tepesi). We can therefore argue based on current information that Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi is the earliest settlement in this area.

While the Late Chalcolithic period was recognised in both trenches, unfortunately we did not find any architecture. The Chalcolithic layer cut down into the sedimentary virgin soil.

Three bell shaped pits about 1 to 2 m in diameter were found in Phase I (Fig. 4: 1). These pits vary from 60 to 100 cm in depth. In addition to these pits, the only evidence from this layer is a sedimentary deposit, which produced both pottery and bones. While we did not find any floors or occupational remains in our trenches, the presence of fragmentary mud bricks and numerous pot sherds, carbonised seeds, and copper suggests that remains of architecture could be found in other parts of the sites. Ethnographic surveys in the area suggest that transhumant pastoralism played an important role as a subsistence strategy in this region. Analysis of the faunal and floral samples will help to establish whether pastoralism was important during the Chalcolithic period.

The pits were filled with ash and numerous pot sherds, fragmentary bones, a copper piece (Fig. 5: 2), broken animal figurines (Fig. 5: 1), and fragmentary pieces of mud brick and ochre pigments. These finds are similar to those found at Sioni sites in either straight-sided or bell-shaped pits, which are generally larger than a metre in diameter.²⁷

A total of 574 pot sherds were recovered from Phase I. All of the pottery is handmade and it is characterised by chaff, mixed and grit temper in descending order (Table 2). Most of the exterior and interior surfaces of the assemblage are orange in colour (10R, 2.5YR7/4), while others are yellowish-brown to brown colour (10YR5/8, 7.5YR4/3). Most sherds have a smoothed surface and have been treated with either an orange or a brown wash. Others have no surface treatment. Twelve per cent of sherds have a blackened surface.

The diagnostic pottery forms are shallow trays with serrated rims or stick incisions over the rims (Figs 6–7); some have comb decoration on their surface. These ceramic wares are coarse with chaff and or grit temper and often perforated around the rims. Some trays (Figs 6:1, 6; 7:1) have lugs or

²⁷ Kiguradze 2000, p. 321.

horizontal handles over and around the rim, and one of them has perforation on its handle (Fig. 7: 2), which seems to be a local feature. Other forms are hole-mouth (Fig. 8: 2), everted (Fig. 8: 3), and inverted rims (Fig. 8: 1, 4), and jars with vertical rims or necks, and some with two handles (Fig. 8: 4): sometimes these handles show some similarities with Early Bronze Age I types.

Radiocarbon dating from this phase provides a date range of 3955–3787 cal BC. Although this dating at many sites is related to Middle Chalcolithic, the majority of pot types and forms are comparable with the Late Chalcolithic, such as ceramics from Sioni, Samshvilde, Damstvari Gora, Gundulak,²⁸ Sekerat,²⁹ and Sos Höyük.³⁰

Temper			Int. colour			Ext. colour	
Chaff	mix	grit	Orange	Brown	Black	Orange	Brown
71%	26%	3%	76%	23%	1%	84%	16%

Treatment							
Or.W.	Br.W.Sm	Br.W/Or.W.Sm	S.Tr	Or.S.Sm	Sm	None	
18%	11%	10%	5%	4%	2%	20%	

(These percentages represent the majority of the collection, not all)

Ext = exterior, Int = interior, Or = orange, Br = brown, W = wash, Sm = smoothed, Tr = surface treatment, S = slip

Table 2: Late Chalcolithic sherds

The Early Bronze Age

The Early Bronze Age at Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi is represented by Phases II, III, IV and V. Phase V is the uppermost layer, above which one can see a natural erosion depositional layer which marks a hiatus in the site's occupation until the Iron Age.

Four stratigraphic phases can be attributed to the Bronze Age. The lowest (Phase II) is superimposed on the Chalcolithic phase (Phase I). Although the natural context of Late Chalcolithic makes it difficult to be sure about

²⁸ Kiguradze and Sagona 2003, figs 3.13:2, 3.33:9.

²⁹ Burney 1958, p. 163 no. 31.

³⁰ Sagona 2000, fig. 12:6.

the transition between Phase I and Phase II, it seems that there is no gap between these periods. This hypothesis should, however, be tested in other parts of the site. Based on material culture and especially the pottery, Phases II and III seem to date to Early Bronze Age I and II.

Phase II, the earliest occupation in the Bronze Age, consists of 12 rows of pits. This phase is 66 cm deep. No structures were found, which probably suggests that this part of the site was on the periphery of the residential area. Another possibility is that this area was a temporary or seasonal settlement. In order to have a clearer understanding of the nature of the site during the Early Bronze Age, we need more excavation in other parts of the site and a thorough study of the faunal remains.

Two hundred and fifty one pottery sherds were retrieved from this phase (Table 3). The percentage of grit inclusions in the paste soared dramatically, although chaff or mixed temper (chaff and fine grit) was also used. On the other hand, the amount of orange colour (7.5YR6/8, 5YR7/4, 5YR6/6, 2.5YR7/4) on the exterior surface of sherds was much reduced in comparison to Phase I, while the amount of brown (2.5YR6/3, 2.5YR4/2, 2.5YR3/6) and black (2.5YR2.5/1, 10YR2/1) colour was increased. The colour spectrum of pottery ranges across orange, orange-brown and brown-orange. The percentage of sherds with a smoothed surface increased, while other surface treatments fluctuated randomly. Twelve per cent of sherds have a blackened surface and just 3 per cent of pots were under fired.

The major difference between the pottery of this period and that of the Chalcolithic period can be seen in temper. In contrast to the previous period, ceramics with mineral (grit) inclusion are common in later periods. Some pottery shapes from the Late Chalcolithic period are continued in the Kura-Araxes II or Early Bronze I (for instance, **Fig. 8: 1, 3**). Moreover, pots with vertical and everted rims, and circular-edge rounded bowls and wide-necked jars are common, and their surfaces are polished or smoothed more frequently than among the Late Chalcolithic period ceramics.

Based on the stratigraphy, it seems that this phase should be earlier than Phase III (which is related to EBA II) and later than Late Chalcolithic. On the other hand, there was no clear gap between Phases I and II, and it comes to mind that Phase I might be related to Kura-Araxes II or Early Bronze Age I. In that case, this relative chronology is debatable. There were some differences between the shape of vessels from this phase and those from some sites such as Sos Höyük (Level Vb) in Turkey or Berikdeebi (Level V) where Kura-Araxes pottery has been found and the hallmarks of Early Bronze Age I are rarely recognisable. However when they can be observed, the closest parallels can be found among the Early Bronze Age I

ceramics from period K at Geoy Tepe,³¹ Korcutepe in Turkey,³² and Samsh-vilde in Georgia.³³

Temper			Int. colour			Ext. colour		
Grit	Chaff	mix	Orange	Brown	Black	Orange	Brown	Black
69%	25%	6%	49%	35%	16%	58%	39%	3%

Treatment							
Sm	Or.W.	Sm S.Tr	Br.S.Sm/ Or.W	Br.W.Sm	Ws	Or.S.Sm/ Br.W/Bj.S.Sm	None
28%	17%	12%	5%	3%	3%	2%	24%

(These percentages represent the majority of the collection, not all)

Ext = exterior, Int = interior, Or = orange, Br = brown, Bj = beje, W = wash, Sm = smoothed, S.Tr = surface treatment, S = slip Ws = wet smoothed

Table 3: Early Bronze Age I (Phase II) sherds

Phase III has the thickest deposits (the whole depth is 71 cm) and probably lasted longer than any other prehistoric period at the site. Based on formation process and stratigraphy, four sub-phases have been documented. These four sub-phases are recognised only on the basis of depositional stratigraphy, and there is no clear distinction that can be observed within the pottery of these sub-phases.

The prominent discovery of this phase is mud-brick architecture consisting of a wall, with three articulated rows, which had been built directly on top of the Phase II remains without any foundation. This wall is built of mud bricks, 40 × 25 × 12 cm in size and joined with mud mortar. It is plastered with three layers of mud plaster with a thin layer of gypsum on the vertical surface. This wall is a part of a circular structure that was also revealed in T6B (Fig. 10: 1–2).

The first feature to be built was the wall (L6B/3 in T6B and L.6044 in T6) on top of the pit layers of Phase II. A pit and a manqál (Fig. 11: 1, left) are associated with this structure. Above a thin layer of debris, a floor was built that was repaired three times. A pit and another manqál (inside the

³¹ Burton-Brown 1951, p. 296 fig. 8.

³² Kelly-Buccellati 1978 1r: E.

³³ Sagona 1984, fig. 18:5.

early one; **Figs 11: 1**, right) are related to this floor. A layer of debris containing burned wattle and daub and mud-brick debris was observed in the interior spaces of the room: this may be the remains of the thatch roof. A subsequent floor was built on this layer, along with an associated pit. This floor was also repaired three times.

Two samples of charcoal, one collected from the manqál's (hearth) centre and the other from the debris beside the wall of the circular structure, yielded a determination of 2817–2665 BC.

From this period (Phase III), 136 pot shreds were registered. Inclusions of all the pottery are mineral (grit). The exterior surface colour of the majority is brown (7.5YR5/3, 7.5YR4/2, 7.5YR3/4, and 10YR 4/6) followed by black (2.5YR2.5/1, 10YR2/1) and then orange (2.5YR7/3, 7.5YR7/4). The colour spectrum of pottery ranges across brown-brown and black-brown. In this phase, the open-mouth bowl is common, vertical and inverted rims (**Fig. 8: 2**) are seen in equal numbers, and the dimple decoration very frequently occurs on the body of jars (**Fig. 12: 1–2**). One unusual form is a jar with an inverted rim and a carinated body with two handles (**Fig. 9: 4**). We were unable to find any parallel for this shape, while other shapes find good parallels among pottery from period K at Geoy Tepe,³⁴ Yanik Tepe (only in forms),³⁵ Iğdır plain ceramic assemblages,³⁶ Ernis and Kvatskhelebi in Georgia,³⁷ and Nakhicvan.³⁸

Temper		Int. colour			Ext. colour		
Grit		Brown	Black	Orange	Brown	Orange	Black
100%		42%	34%	21%	64%	29%	5%

Treatment						
Sm	S.Tr	Br.S.Sm.	Ws	Sm S.Tr	Or.W.Sm/Br.W	No
59%	10%	4%	3%	5%	2%	11%

(These percentages represent the majority of the collection, not all)
Ext = exterior, Int = interior, Or = orange, Br = brown, W = wash, Sm = smoothed, S.Tr = surface treatment, S = slip Ws = wet smoothed,

Table 3: Early Bronze Age II (Phase III) sherds

³⁴ Burton-Brown 1951, p. 39 fig. 197.
³⁵ Summers 1982, figs 3:8–9, 138:23, 102:3.
³⁶ Burney 1958, p. 191 fig. 137.
³⁷ Sagona 1984, fig. 29:9, 47:5.
³⁸ Bahshaliyev 1997, p. xxxvii.

In the following phase, a floor was laid on the ruins and two holes lined with mud-brick walls and full of broken mud brick were cut into the lower layer (especially Phase III). Unfortunately, the pottery from this period is scarce and it is difficult to say anything about its characteristics or chronology. Based on the stratigraphy and a few vessel forms, however, we assume that this phase dates to the late part of the Early Bronze Age.

After a thin layer of sediment (3 cm), probably representing an erosion surface, mud-brick debris and a *pisé* structure with ambiguous shape were built. There is no diagnostic pottery to date this layer. After this phase, a long gap in time separates Early Bronze Age remains from those of the Iron Age (?).

Based on our ethnographic studies,³⁹ the people of Máfrüzlü abandoned their homes and village after the Araxes River overflowed three or four times. This process can still be seen in the area, as people abandoned their homes and some of them built a new village near the old one, but higher up on the alluvial fan. It seems that the abandonment of the Early Bronze Age occupation settlement at Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi was probably due to the same reason. This conclusion, however, should be considered as preliminary until geoarchaeological surveys and geomorphologic investigations reveal more about the history of local alluviation and come to a better understanding of both environmental change and the record of past human settlement within a spatially well-defined alluvial landscape.

Conclusion

A dozen or so sites have been excavated in the Araxes Valley in Armenia, Azerbaijan and eastern Anatolia, but few reports have been published on these excavations. Of the published research reports, only a handful are relevant to archaeological materials of the 4th and 3rd millennia BC. In northwest Iran almost all excavated sites are situated around Lake Urmia and information about the other parts of the region is lacking.

During the excavation at Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi, five phases (three periods), dating from the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, were recognised. Because the excavated area was small, this report must be considered as an introduction to the archaeological material in this part of northwest Iran and south of the Araxes River in the valley. To obtain a better understanding about the ancient landscape of the valley an intensive survey, large-scale excavation, and more investigation is needed.

³⁹ Maziar 2008.

In the past, with some exceptions,⁴⁰ the majority of archaeologists thought that the late 4th millennium Chalcolithic period was missing in this region.⁴¹ In addition, as Kroll observes, at Yanik, Baruj, Gijlar, Balow or Hasanlu, “new settlement is located either on top of or close to the old one.”⁴² But based on our excavations and the preliminary studies of material, it seems that there is continuous occupation from the Late Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age I with no clear stratigraphical discontinuity. All of the evidence from these excavations suggests that the changes from the Late Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age were gradual and it seems that the Early Trans-Caucasian (ETC) in this area is a dominant ceramic style, although local variations within the assemblage are considerable.

Late Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age I and II (LC or Kura-Araxes I and Kura-Araxes II) are documented at the site, while Early Bronze Age III needs more investigation. One of the most important findings from Early Bronze Age II at the site is a part of a circular building in square T6B.

As the investigations and excavations at ETC II sites north of the Araxes River suggest a complex development,⁴³ any conclusion about the attribution of sites to the period must remain tentative. Based on architecture and pottery found at some sites in Iran, for example Yanik Tepe, Summers has suggested that there is no sign of any transitional architecture, but there is some evidence to suggest that there was a break in occupation before ETC III. Unfortunately, based on our findings and the limited area of excavation at the Köhné Pāsgāh Tepesi, we have little evidence of Early Bronze Age III (Phase IV or V).⁴⁴

It seems that the site was abandoned during the Early Bronze Age (II or III?). The possible reasons for this abandonment are unknown, however it is possible that it was related to environmental conditions, especially the flooding of the river Araxes. We should point out that the cultural boundaries of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age are in no way defined by the present-day political borders. As Batiuk and Rothman have pointed out, “since the distribution of resources for subsistence and trade shapes [the migration] process, we must see culture change in a broad geographical context and in many cultural dimensions.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ For example, Alizadeh and Azarnoush 2003b.

⁴¹ See Tala'i 2004, p. 6.

⁴² Kroll 2005, p. 116.

⁴³ Summers 1982, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Summers 1982, p. 138.

⁴⁵ Batiuk and Rothman 2007, p. 8.

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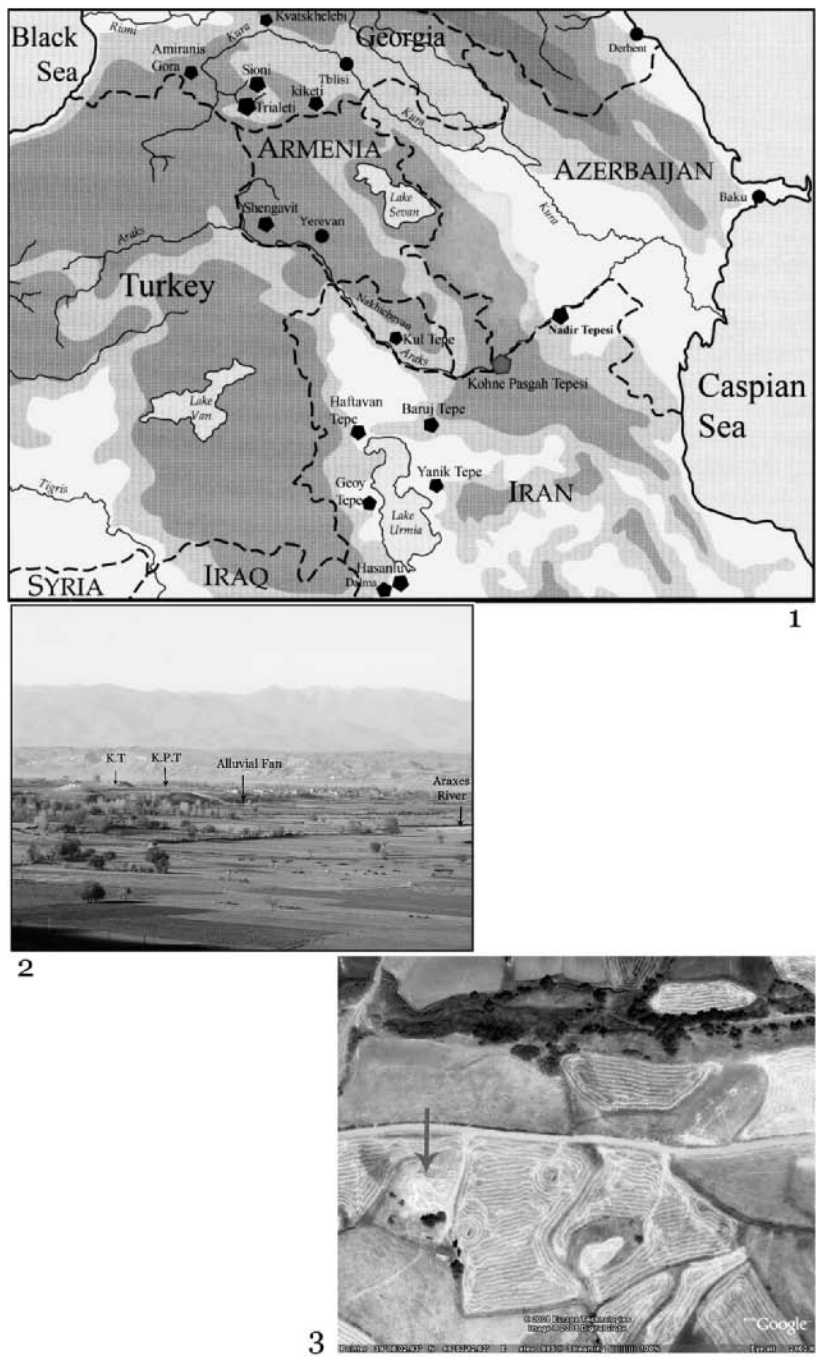


Fig. 1: 1. Kohne Pasgah Tepesi location; 2. Alluvial fan of Káleybár Chây; 3. Kohne Pasgah Tepesi.

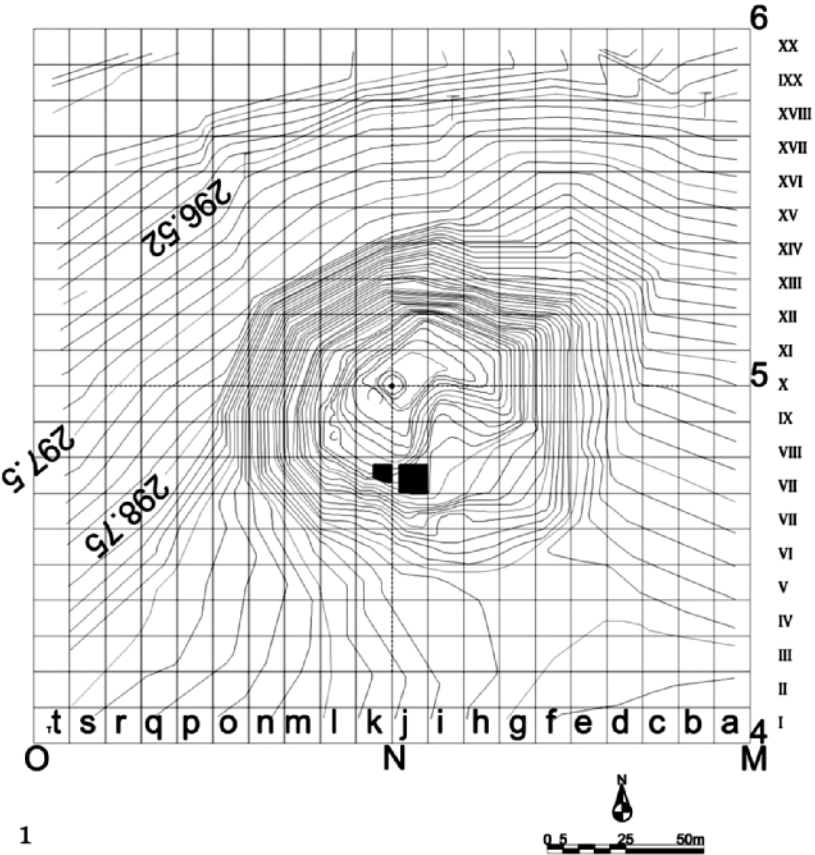


Fig. 2: 1. Topography and gridding in Kohne Pasgah Tepesi; 2. Kohne Pasgah Tepesi.

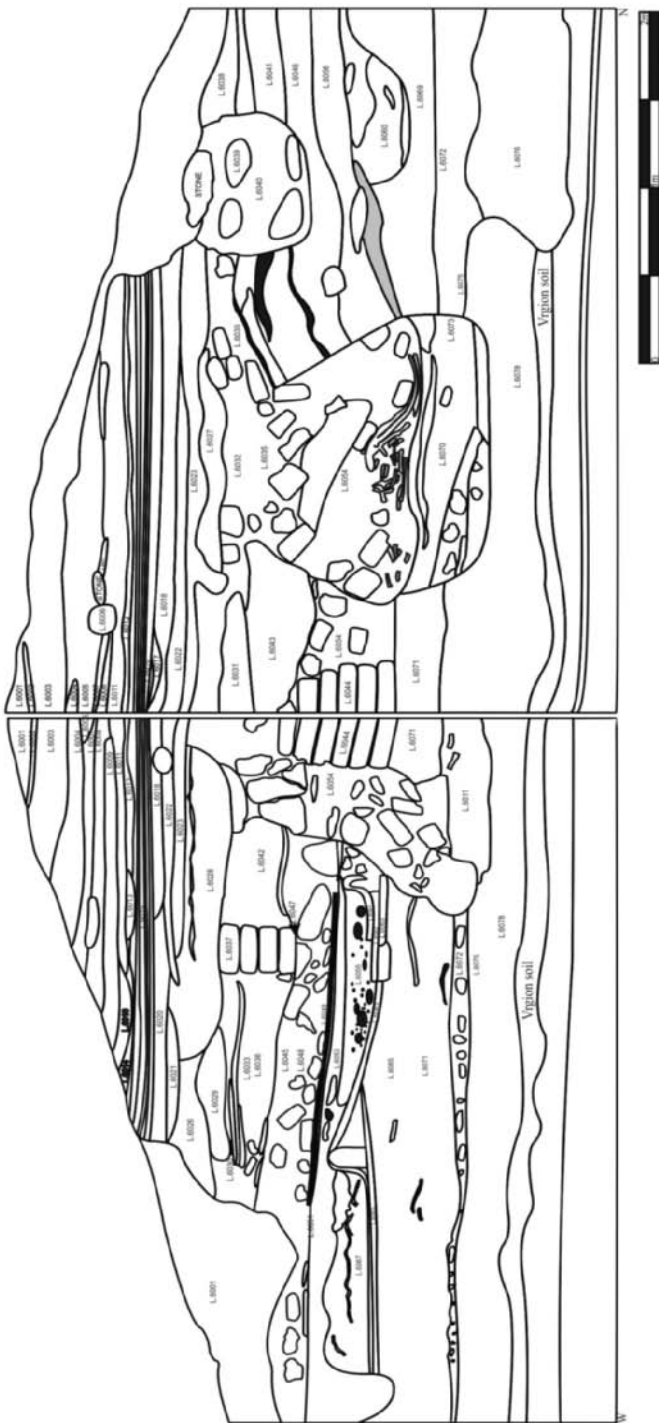
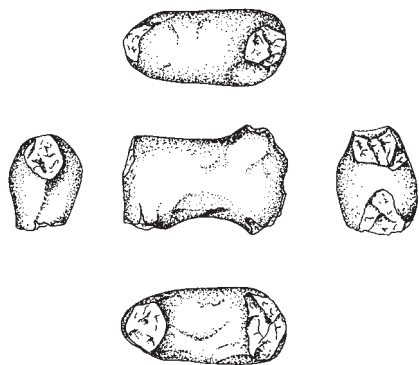


Fig. 3: North and West section of T.6.



Fig. 4: 1-2. Late Chalcolithic pits.



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Fig. 5: 1. Animal figurine; 2. Metal from Late Chalcolithic period.

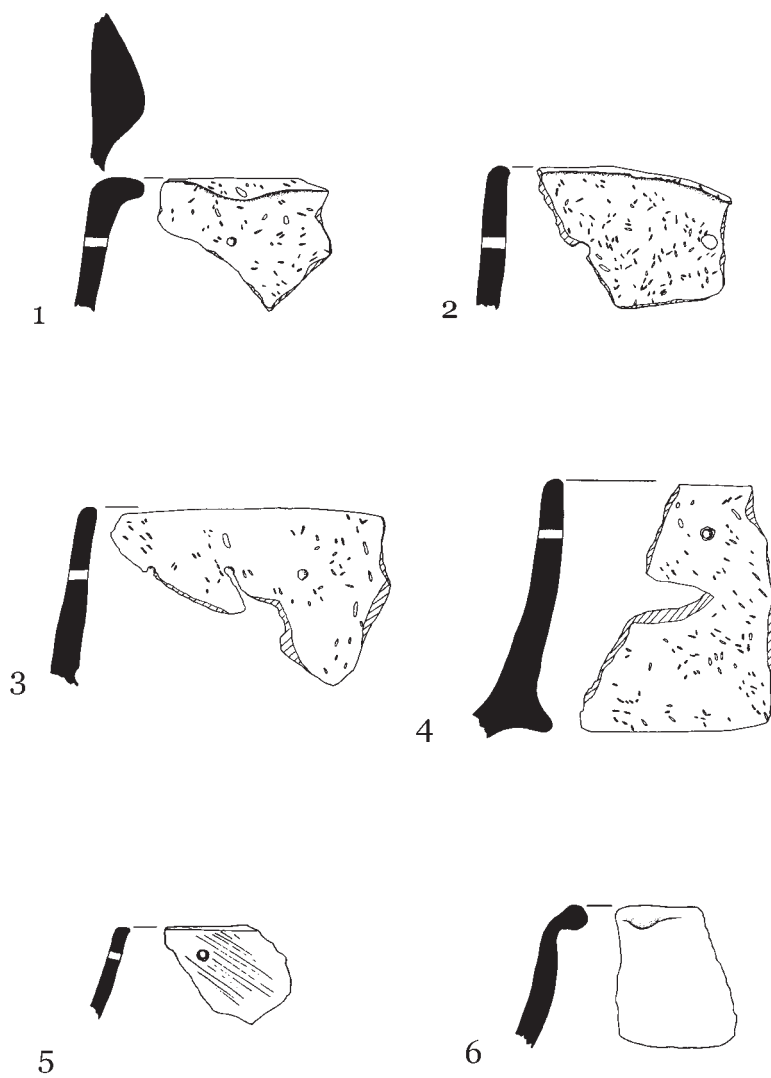


Fig. 6: Pot sherds from Late Chalcolithic period.

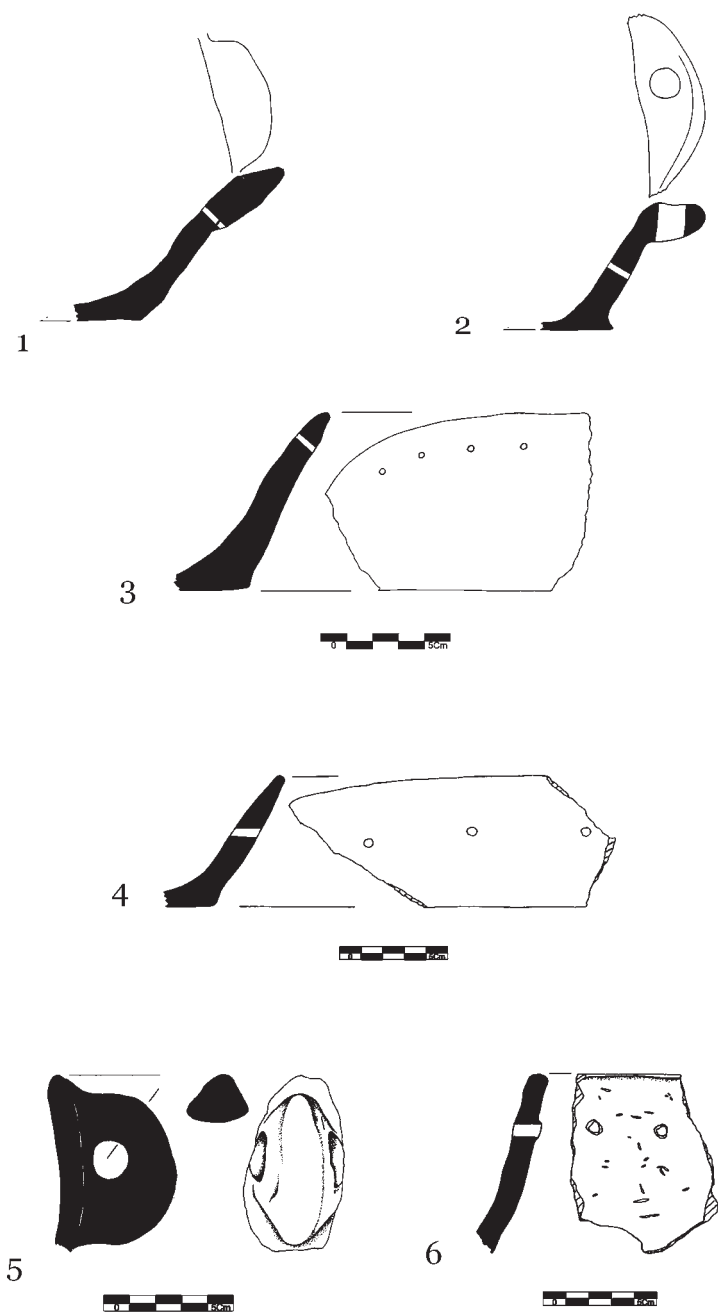


Fig. 7: Pot sherds from Late Chalcolithic period.

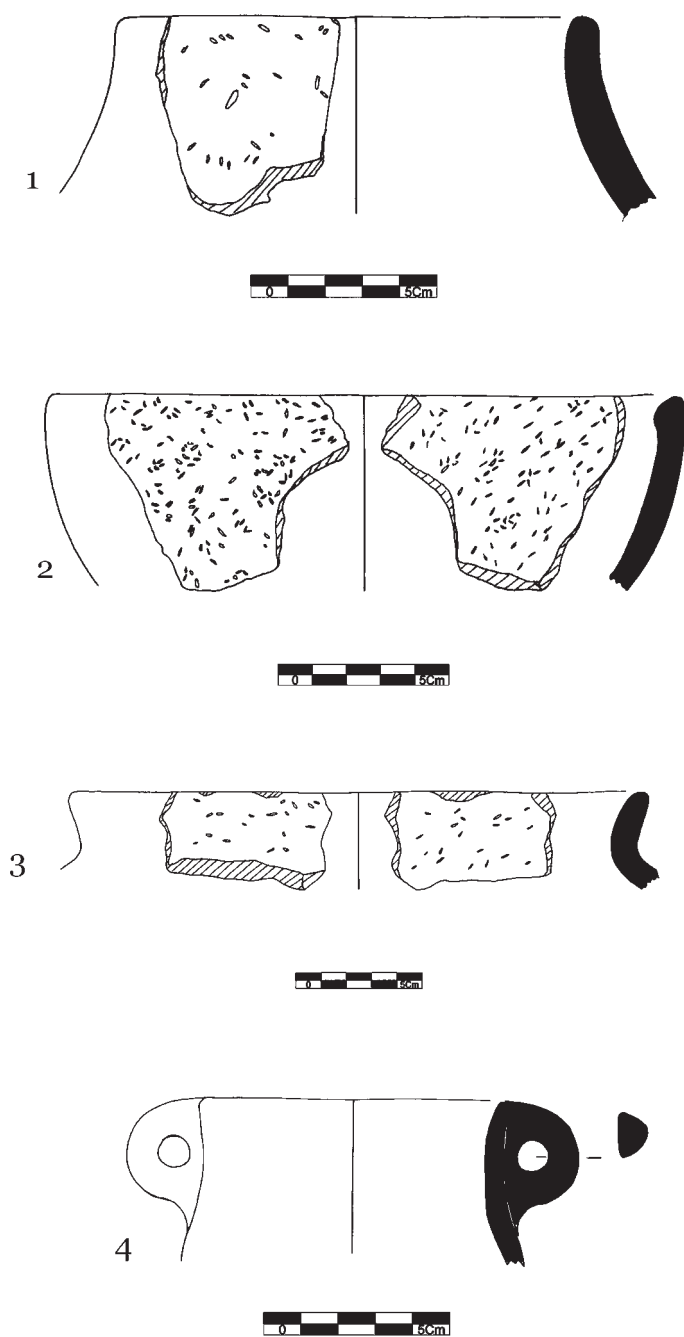


Fig. 8: Pot sherds from Late Chalcolithic period.

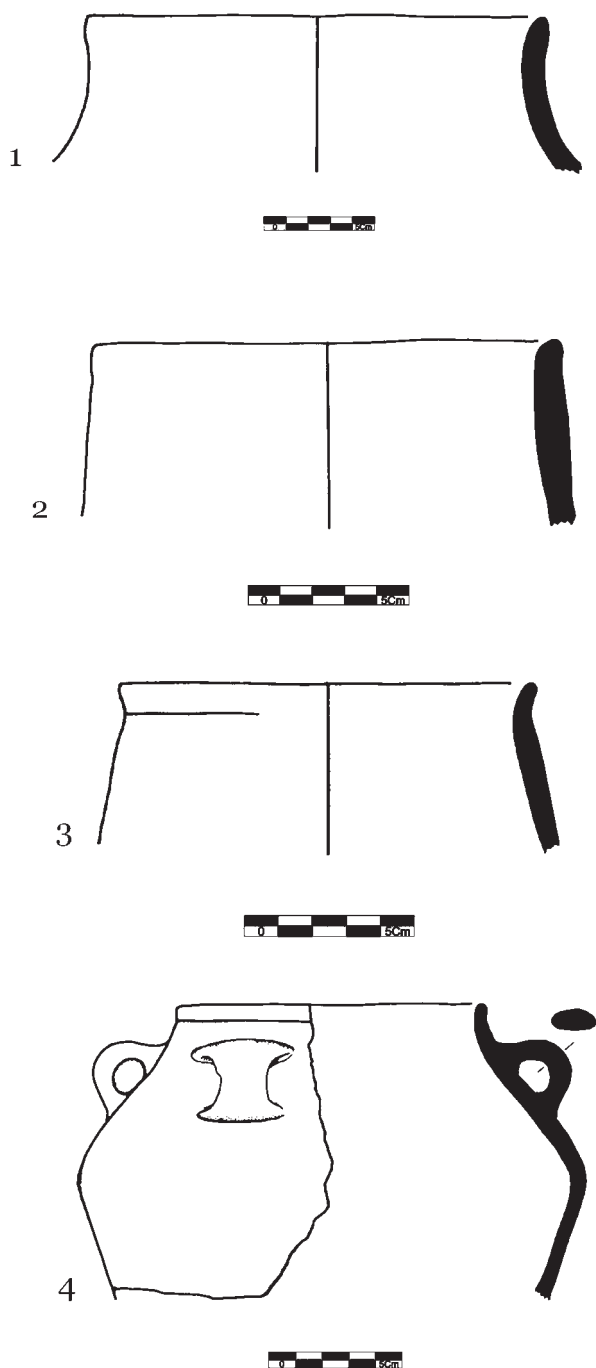
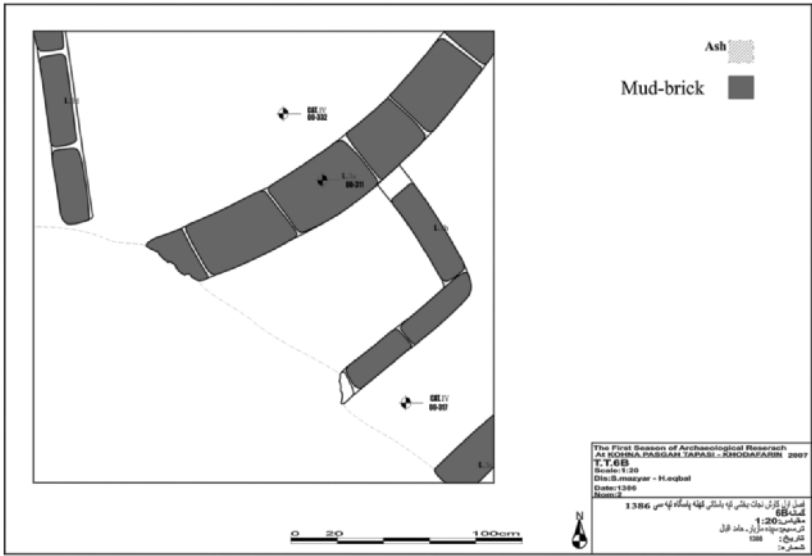


Fig. 9: Early bronze age I pottery (Phase II).

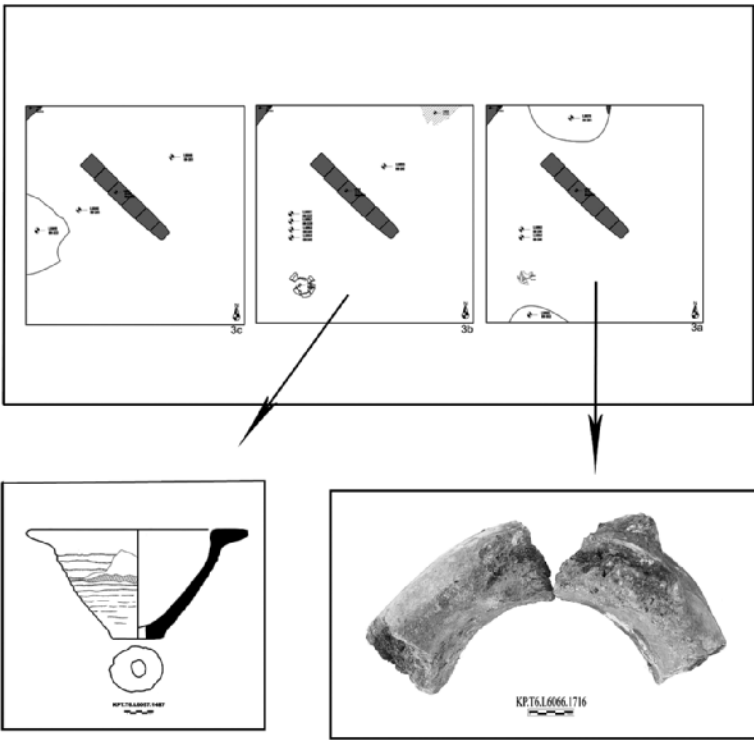


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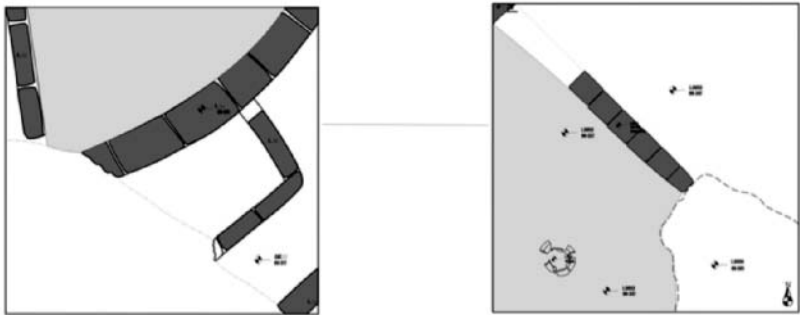


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Fig. 10: 1-2. Circular structure (Phase III).



1



2

Fig. 11: 1. Phase III with 2 Manqal; 2. Covered space based on remnants of roof.

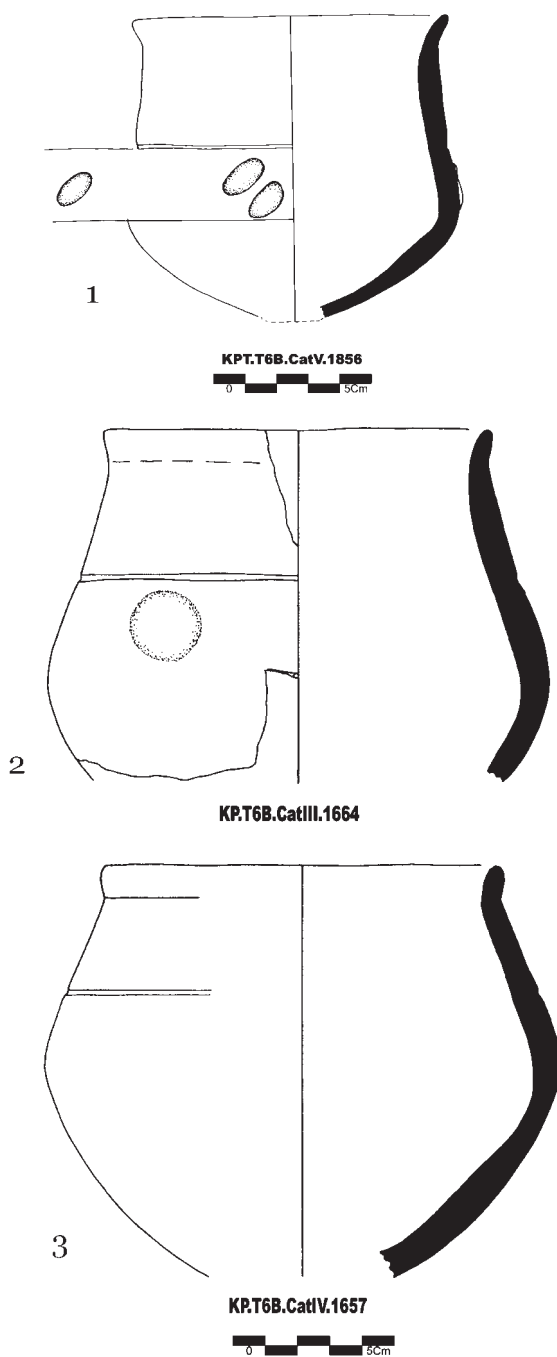


Fig. 12: Early Bronze Age II (Phase III)

Byzantine Architectural Carvings from Abydos in the Hellespontus

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Abstract

Located in the middle section of the Dardanelles, Abydos was a great city with an important customs station and port. In spite of this, archaeological data about the Byzantine period of the city is limited. This creates a serious problem for the medieval investigations. Furthermore, as a result of the effects of World War I, intensive afforestation activities, and recently increasing construction, the archaeological traces of the Byzantine period are disappearing rapidly. Therefore, it is of considerable importance to document the archaeological data without delay. It is envisaged that the information to be obtained as a result of documenting and evaluating the finds in detail can contribute significantly to understanding the Byzantine period of the region and the problem of the location of Abydos. The architectural carvings of the Byzantine period we detected in Abydos and its environment constitute the subject of this study. The works we examined were detected in Karacaören, Nara Point and Çanakkale, and during our studies in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum.

Introduction

The Black Sea and Mediterranean were significant economic areas in the Byzantine period. The Dardanelles looms large, with its geographical position, in production-consumption relations between these areas. The Dardanelles is generally viewed as one single geographical entity in archaeological investigations. However, it is observed that the Dardanelles has three different

geographical characters. These features can be classified as upper, middle and lower strait-parts.¹ When the Byzantine period settlement types and distributions on these three sections of the Dardanelles are evaluated, the settlements which meet the Byzantine urban concept are observed to have been concentrated in the middle section.² The most significant Byzantine city in the middle section of the Dardanelles is Abydos.³ Historical data about Abydos indicates that it was a great city with an important customs station and port. In spite of this, archaeological data about the Byzantine period of the city is limited. This creates a serious problem for the medieval investigations. Furthermore, as a result of the effects of World War I, intensive afforestation activities, and recently increasing construction, the archaeological traces of the Byzantine period are disappearing rapidly. Therefore, it is of considerable importance to document the archaeological data without delay. It is envisaged that the information to be obtained as a result of documenting and evaluating the finds in detail can contribute significantly to understanding the Byzantine period of the region and the problem of the location of Abydos.⁴

Many researchers point to suggest the southern slopes of Nara Cape as the location of Abydos in the Dardanelles (Fig. 1). It is suggested that its acropolis is around Maltepe. A few scarce finds representing the Byzantine period are scattered around Narababa Hill and the west and southwest ridges of Maltepe. A significant Byzantine find is the customs stone extracted

¹ The upper part begins in the area between Gallipoli and Çardak. It ends at a point close to Cape Akbaş and Karacaören. From this point to the region between Havuzlar on the Gallipoli Peninsula and Cape Kepez on the Anatolian side is the central part. From this central part to the area between Cape Ilyas on the Gallipoli Peninsula and Kumburnu on the Anatolian side is the lower part of the strait.

² The European shore of the strait lies on the border of the Europe region and the Anatolian shore of the strait lies on the border of the Hellespontus region. According to the bishopric lists of Darrouzès (1981, p. 491), the bishopric centres on the Anatolian shore of the strait are Lampsacus in the upper part, Abydos and Dardanos in the middle and Ilium in the lower part. The bishopric centres on the European shore of the strait are Gallipoli (Kallipolis) in the upper part and Madytos and Koila (Coele) in the middle part: see Darrouzès 1981, p. 493.

³ Abydos is one of the bishopric centres that was subordinated to Kyzikos from the fifth century. A seal belonging to Abydos bishop and priest Theodosios proves archeologically that the settlement was a bishopric: see Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996, p. 87 n. 40.38. It is understood that Abydos was turned into a metropolis in 1084: see Darrouzès 1981, p. 123. The seals belonging to Abydos metropolitans Michael and John Proedros in this period have been found: see Zacos 1984, n. 587; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1991, p. 87 n. 40.37. The name of the Abydos metropolitan was used in written documents until the twelfth century: see Oikonomides 1989–1991, pp. 241–248.

⁴ Our studies about the Dardanelles are supported by Tübitak (Project no: SOBAG 104K074).

from the Ottoman castle near the cape.⁵ Furthermore, a marble slab and coins of Justinian I (527–565), Leo VI (886–912), John I Tzimisces (969–976), and Constantine VIII (1025–1028), revealed in this region and today located in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum, point to the continuity of the settlement (Fig. 2).

In this region, a small number of glazed and unglazed Byzantine ceramics can be found. The traces of a mortar-stone structure with a circular plan on Narababa indicate the presence of a tower there. Today the dense foresting activities in these areas complicate following the tracks on the surface. Travelers who visited the region also stated that they had seen the wall of the castle.⁶ Choiseul-Gouffier mentions in his study the ruins in Abydos and illustrates them.⁷ However, Leaf states that the wall ruins illustrated there are imaginary.⁸

Kiepert's map shows the neighborhood around Saral Hill and Zinar Ağılı in the southwest of Dalyan Cape as the location of Abydos.⁹ Karacaören Village is located in the southeast of this region. These places shown by Kiepert were searched in the years 1997 and 1999, and architectural plastics representing the Byzantine period were detected. Amongst the few finds are glazed and unglazed ceramics and a long side piece of a tile specific to the sixth-century Corinth type, together with concave roof-covering materials specific to the Laconia type, representing the tenth to thirteenth centuries. All these data can be observed in the region beginning from Nara Cape and also containing Saral Hill and Karacaören. Furthermore, the coins of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025), Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041), and Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–1282) were revealed in Karacaören and are located in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum today (Fig. 3).

The southern border of where the tracks are available is the shoreline from Nara Cape to Çanakkale and the southwest slopes of the hills along this line. During construction activities around Necip Paşa Mosque, Military Hospital and Kösekale, it is known that scarce glazed and unglazed ceramics representing the Byzantine period are found. It can be considered that these archeological data were scattered around a vast area by movements. Besides, historical data also indicates that the Abydos city of the Byzantine period expanded to a wider area.

⁵ Durliat and Guillou 1984, pp. 581–598.

⁶ Knight 1839, p. 215; Norie 1881, p. 272.

⁷ Choiseul-Gouffier 1822.

⁸ Leaf 1923, pp. 118–119.

⁹ Kiepert 1891, Ayvalık B.1.

Idrisi, the geographer, states that Abydos not only had a significant port and customs station, but was also a great Byzantine city, with its wide streets, perfect houses and gorgeous bazaars.¹⁰ Idrisi praises Abydos to the fullest extent and says that with its classical hack streets, it is one of those few cities which was well preserved from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. In view of these data, if it is thought that Abydos was located between Maltepe and Narababa Hill, or at Nara Cape where the castle was located, it can be said that the area is insufficient (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, it can be presumed that the customs and official buildings were located in this region and that, as the archeological data suggests, the city expanded into the areas in the south and southeast directions.

The architectural carvings of the Byzantine period we detected in Abydos and its environment constitute the subject of this study. The works we examined were detected in Karacaören, Nara Point and Çanakkale, and during our studies in Çanakkale Archeology Museum. The following abbreviations have been used: H: height; L: length; T: thickness; D: diameter; UW: upper width; UT: upper thickness; LW: lower width; LT: lower thickness; UD: upper diameter; LD: lower diameter.

Column base

1. Reused material on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village (Fig. 4: 1-2)

Limestone

L: 24.5, H: 22

The piece of column base is a reused material on the wall. One side of the plinthos of the base situated inversely on the wall fabric is visible. The torus with a circular section is 5 cm in height. The lower section of the ungrooved column shaft is visible on the torus.

Column shaft

1. Karacaören Village (Fig. 4: 3)

Granite?

H: 110, D: 32

The lower section of the broken column shaft was preserved. There are two annulets on the lower section of the ungrooved shaft. The lower annulet is wider than the second annulet situated above it.

¹⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000, p. 170.

Impost blocks

1. Karacaören Village (Fig. 4: 4)

Marble

BL: 21, BT:20.5, UL: 28, UT: 39, H: 14

The impost block is broken in the middle section. One of the short faces and some of the side faces are visible. The height of the abacus is 10 cm. Side faces are properly incised but undecorated. On the front side is a cross pattern. The tip of each arm of the cross has a triangular terminus.

2. Brought from Karacaören and preserved in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu.16 (Fig. 4: 5)

Marble

BL: 14, BT: 11, UL: 21, UT: 27, H: 16

The impost block is broken in the middle section. One of the short faces and some of the side faces are visible. The height of the abacus is 10 cm. Side faces are properly incised but undecorated. On the front side is a cross pattern. The tip of each arm of the cross has a triangular terminus. The block bears similar features to the capital that we detected in the village in Karacaören, however, it differs in terms of its materials and type of workmanship. Its surface is smooth and slightly convex on the section where the cross is located.

Column capitals

1. Unearthed during the foundation excavation of a house in the centre of Çanakkale and transported to Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu. 46 (Fig. 5: 1)

Marble

BL: 33, BTK: 28, UL: 44, UT: 55.5, H: 28, D: 27

Ionic impost type column capital composed of two sections, namely Ionian volutes and impost. The echinus is decorated with acanthus leaves. On the side faces is a composition of leaves situated to form a border, one over the other very tightly on the pulvinus. There is a composition of acanthi on the side faces in the impost section of the capital. Here, two symmetrically situated broad acanthi are observed on both sides of the trifoliate plant form at the centre. Their two innermost leaves are slightly bending down towards each other and are situated in such a way that they touch each other in the middle section. The other two leaves vertically extend up to

the abacus. The same double acanthi organisation is repeated around the corners of the capital. At the very corner are acanthi applied vertically to extend up to the abacus. One more in-folding acanthus to extend to two different sides of the capital is situated on both sides of these acanthi. The same composition is repeated on both side faces of the impost. The outer leaves of the acanthus compositions situated at both corners on the side faces of the impost constitute some of the composition on the front and back sides of the impost. The compositions on the front and back sides are again composed of acanthi. On these sides is a composition of two acanthi, situated vertically, that extend up to the abacus, and a small in-folding acanthus on both sides of each. Unlike on the back side, a cross pattern with a long lower arm is situated at the centre of this composition on the front side.

2. Brought from the centre of Çanakkale and preserved in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu. 2037 (Fig. 5: 2)

Marble

BD: 19, UD: 27, H: 16

Only the calathus of the capital has survived up to the present. On the calathus is a composition of a row of acanthus leaves and a row of flutes. There are fractures in the sections where acanthus leaves are located.

3. Karacaören Village (Fig. 5: 3)

Marble

H: 28, D: 40

Corinthian capital has survived up to the present with fractures in the abacus and calathus. The lower section and one side of the calathus are broken. Only the upper sections of the leaves of the leaf wreath in the lower row are visible.

Pier

1. Reused material on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village (Fig. 5: 4)

Marble

H: 60, L: 15

Only one of the side faces of the pier applied as a reused material is visible. There is a screen cavity with a width of 5.5 cm on this side. Its lower and upper sections are broken and its height cannot be detected completely.

Door jamb

1. Karacaören Village (Fig. 5: 5)

L: 10.7, T: 12, L: 30

Probably a fragment of a door jamb. Door jambs of identical type are observed at the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra. It is one of a large number of architectural pieces detected in the village. A large number of pieces like this one are reused materials in establishments such as wall fabric or staircases.

Screens

1. Reused material on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village (Fig. 6: 1-2)

H: 19, L: 23.5

A trifoliate palmette motif, understood to have been situated at one corner of a square, is observed on the reused material in the wall fabric. This decoration in low relief technique gives an idea about the composition on the screen. Based on this piece, it is understood that there was an interlace composition on the screen. The decoration observed on the preserved piece was completed and a restitution drawing was tried.¹¹ According to this restitution, the dimensions of the screen are calculated as 58 x 63 cm. A rhomboid is situated inside the square, at the four corners of which there is a palmette motif. The corners of the rhomboid pass through the border lines of the square and reach the external rectangular frame. It is again understood from the lines of the composition on the screen that there is a circle inside the rhomboid. A cross, Christogram or plant motif can be observed inside the central circle in similar specimens in this organisation, one of the common decoration compositions of the early Byzantine period.

2. Karacaören Village (Fig. 6: 3-4)

Marble

H: 73, L: 28

The broken piece is embedded in a mortar block. It is understood that it was a reused material in a building and that it remained among the debris after the building had been demolished. Its thickness and the incising forms of other sides are invisible since it was found embedded in the mortar. An interlace motif is present in the composition on the work. There is a

¹¹ I extend my thanks to Türker Türker for the restitution drawing.

composition of locket connected by interlacing, situated in a rectangular frame, and of rhomboids connected to each other by passing through and outside the locket, the locket being the centre.

3. Unearthed during the foundation excavation at the Nara military zone and transported to Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu. 7499 (Fig. 6: 5–6)

Marble

L: 130, H: 107, T: 18

On the rectangular block is a composition in relief technique within a square frame. The sections on the exterior of this frame are observed to be roughly incised. There are fractures on both sides of the block. On the other hand, its back side is properly incised. This provokes one to think that the screen might have been used by being assembled at the edges. A formation likely to have belonged to its second use is observed in the upper section of the block. A piece was cut out from the middle section of the upper edge. Abrasion, again likely to have belonged to the second use, is observed in the middle section at the lower edge of the block. There is an interlace composition in the area framed by a square-shaped fillet. A square form composed of two fillets, containing trifoliate palmettes at the corners, is situated inside the frame. Around the square is a curved line composed of two fillets. This line passes once under and once over each side of the square. The exterior limit of these curved lines is the fillet that frames the composition. These curved lines in the square enable the corners to be beveled and softened. At the centre is a composition of stylised plant motifs. The basic design on this screen is also observed on the mosaic panel at the entrance of the early Byzantine church in Ilion.¹² The same interlace composition is present on a stone screen, which was brought from Crete, located in Museum Storico. However, a circle is drawn inside the outmost frame in the mosaic and the interlace composition is situated inside this circle. There is a bird figure inside the locket at the centre of the composition instead of plant motifs.

4. Brought from the centre of Çanakkale and preserved in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu. 18 (Fig. 7: 1)

Marble

L: 85, T: 18, H: 83

The screen is incised with its pier on one side. The pier is intact, however, one side of the screen is broken. The lower side is roughly incised whereas

¹² For this mosaic see Rose 2002, p. 110.

the upper and side faces are properly incised. There is a soffit decoration on the front side of the pier. The short edges of the soffit are smooth. Inside the screen is a rectangular area framed by three intertwined fillets. There is also a rhomboid composed of graded fillets in this area. There is a leaf motif at the lower and upper corners of the rhomboid. A trifoliate palmette is situated at its side corner where the pier is located. As the screen is broken, the decoration at the other corner is invisible. However, provided that it is considered to have been a symmetrical organisation, it can be stated that a palmette might have been used at this corner as well. In addition, there is a small circular form at the centre of the screen.

Ambo fragments

1. Screen of ambo staircase (Fig. 7: 2–3)

Transported to Çanakkale Archaeology Museum from the Primary School of Fahrettin Akkutlu in Çanakkale: Inv. Nu. 5500

Marble

L: 69, T: 11.5, H: 71

The upper section of the screen of the ambo staircase is broken. A bolt is designed to go into the pier on the right side face of the screen. The lower section is roughly incised and there is a rectangular seam joint. The back side is properly incised. The composition on the front side of the screen is in high relief technique. It is understood that there is a composition with two divisions on this side. The surface of the screen is divided diagonally into two divisions. The section where the upper panel is located is broken. In the lower panel, there are plants situated inside a cantharos in the middle section framed by fillets. When evaluated according to its decoration technique, it can be considered that the work shaped in high relief technique might have belonged to the beginning of the sixth century.

2. Screen of ambo podium (Fig. 7: 4–5)

Transported to Çanakkale Archaeology Museum from the secondary school of Çanakkale: Inv. Nu. 2

Marble

H: 107, L: 98, T: 22

The screen of the ambo podium has a convex profile. The side and lower faces of the screen are properly incised. However, a simple organisation containing thin fillets on the upper edge is observed on the back side. The composition on the front side of the screen is incised in low relief technique.

There is abrasion, particularly in the upper section, on the surface of the screen. The composition is composed of two lion figures. The lions are situated reciprocally on both sides of the symmetry axis in the middle of the screen. Constituting the symmetry axis is a line composed of two fillets, which rests on a base in the lower section. In the upper section of this line, there is a bull's head in the section corresponding to the area between the lions' heads. With their large bodies, the lions cover the area on the screen completely. Their tails are situated in the space remaining between frame and body, in parallel to the dorsal line. The bodies of the lion figures are filled with a decorative pattern. It is observed that there is hatching composed of horizontal and vertical lines to form small squares in the middle section of the body. There are lines that represent the hairs on the bodies of the lions. It is possible to observe manes on the heads, which surround the faces of the figures. Nevertheless, the sections where the faces are located are abraded and facial details are invisible. Inside the frame at the left upper corner of the screen is a flower motif.

Lintels

1. Brought from Karacaören and preserved in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum: Inv. Nu. 3819 and 3820 (Fig. 8: 1–2, 3–4)

Marble

L: 235, T: 34.5, H: 12

Two pieces of lintel have been registered with two distinct inventory numbers. The total preserved length of the two pieces is 235 cm. The sections of the architrave resting on the supporting elements are undecorated. There is an interlace composition composed by repeating specific motifs between these empty surfaces. This composition is formed by the connection of elliptic, square and rhomboid forms by interlacing. Piece nu. 3820 includes one of the compositions between two supports. In this section, three ellipses and a rhomboid inside a square are connected by interlacings as of the right-most section of 3820. In the elements interconnecting these forms, there are three rhomboids sequenced vertically on the same axis. There is a stylised plant motif inside two of the ellipses. The interior of the ellipse connected at one edge to the rhomboid inside the square is left empty. The frame of a circle is visible inside the rhomboid in the square, however, the surface of the motif inside the circle is broken. The other undecorated section resting on the supporting element is located on the other edge of the screen with nu. 3820. This edge joins the fracture in piece nu. 3819. In the composition on this piece, three geometric forms, namely an ellipse, a rhomboid and a

rhomboid situated inside a square, are again connected by interlacing. These interlacings are of identical form to the ones on the other piece. Again a plant motif is located inside the ellipse form, however, it differs from the motifs filling the two ellipses in piece nu. 3820. Inside the rhomboid in the square is a whorl. It can be considered that the same motif may have been located inside the rhomboid in the square observed in piece nu. 3820. The border lines of the rhomboid in the square in piece nu. 3819 extend without any interlacings and compose the ellipse motif. The plant decoration inside this ellipse is similar to the motif repeated inside the ellipses in piece nu. 3820. On the sloped front side of the lintel, the composition of folded branches and half palmettes situated between them is maintained repeatedly. The back side of the lintel is properly incised but undecorated.

Discussion

The pieces detected constitute two groups, indicating architectural and liturgical uses. Among the architectural elements are column bases, shafts and capitals; a pier; impost blocks; and a door jamb fragment. Works of liturgical use are fragments of ambo, lintels, and screens.

A column base and two column shafts have been examined among architectural elements. The column base is of simple type (Fig. 4: 2). Similar specimens to this base, observed to have been common during the Byzantine period,¹³ were also documented in Kumkale on the Anatolian coast and in Madytos in the Thracian Chersonesos during our studies in Çanakkale. Fragments of column shafts were found to be high in number in the study area. They are ungrooved columns and basically two types of shaft form are observed. The first is the shaft form that gets narrower as it extends upwards, while the other is a flat shaft form. In both types, one or more annulets are used in the lower and/or upper sections.

There are two specimens of imposts and both of them are of identical type. These are imposts containing a cross pattern on one or both of the short sides. One of the imposts was documented during our surface surveys in Karacaören village (Fig. 4: 4), whereas the other capital was detected during our studies in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Fig. 4: 5). It is understood from inventory records that the capital in the museum was also

¹³ Scranton 1957, pl. 24.47; Peschlow 1991, p. 224; Ötügen 1996, p. 158; Alpaslan 2001, pp. 267–271; Niewöhner 2007, taf. 2.17.

brought from Karacaören village. Both impostes are broken and one of their short sides is visible. Although they are similar in terms of decoration compositions, they differ in materials and style. Such impostes are generally dated to the fifth to sixth centuries.¹⁴ Impostes decorated with a cross pattern were also detected in Akköy,¹⁵ Alçıtepe, Halileli, Eceabat, Işıklar, Kuzköy/Çınarlı, Saraycık and Uzunhızırılı in our studies around Çanakkale.

There are three specimens of column capitals. One of them is the Ionic impost type column capital (Fig. 5: 1). In terms of form characteristics, this capital is similar to specimens dated to the second half of the sixth century. Capitals bearing the same form characteristics are observed in Saraycık, Halileli, Çardak, Eceabat, and Süleymaniye in the vicinity of Çanakkale. Moreover, Çanakkale Archaeology Museum also has two capitals of this form. Decoration composed of two acanthi situated vertically next to each other is observed on the echinus. On the side faces is a composition of leaves placed tightly together, one on top of the other, to form a border at the pulvinus. This composition is also found on a capital which was unearthed during the sewer system excavation in Çamburnu in the Thracian Chersonesos, and on the pulvinus of a capital we detected in Süleymaniye, again in the Thracian Chersonesos. A parallel to this decoration on the pulvinus is also observed on a capital located in the atrium of Basilica A at Philippi in Greece.¹⁶ The other two capitals are broken. One of them (Fig. 5: 2) has a composition on the calathus of a motif described as a row of acanthus and a row of flutes, whereas the other is observed to have a decoration of palmettes on the calathus (Fig. 5: 3). Stylised palmettes in low relief technique are used in the upper row of leaves. Specimens of the palmettes on this capital are also observed on a pier capital we detected in Akköy, Çanakkale¹⁷ and on a lintel block in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum.

The screen of the ambo staircase (Fig. 7: 2–3), included among the works of liturgical use, is incised with high relief technique. On the lower panel on the surface of the screen, which is divided diagonally into two divisions, there are plants situated inside a cantharos framed by fillets. The screen can be dated to the first half of the sixth century, according to its decoration technique. A similar screen of an ambo staircase, incised with high relief technique, was detected in Akköy during our studies in

¹⁴ Kautzsch 1936, p. 566; Scranton 1957, pp. 110–117; Harrison 1986, fig. E-5c; Wright 1997, p. 183 fig. 4; Tezcan 1989, fig. 447; Ballance *et. al.* 1989, pl. 6c; Niewöhner 2007, taf. 18, n. 179, taf. 19 n. 180.

¹⁵ Türker 2009, fig. 8.

¹⁶ Vemi 1989, no. 187.

¹⁷ Türker 2009, fig. 7.

Çanakale.¹⁸ The other fragment of ambo is a podium screen (Fig. 7: 4–5). The composition on it is incised with low relief technique. The composition contains two lion figures, located reciprocally, facing each other on both sides of the symmetry axis in the middle of the screen. Screens decorated with lion reliefs in Byzantine art have been found at the Church of St John in Ephesus,¹⁹ Amorion,²⁰ the Church of St Nicholas in Myra,²¹ Yalova,²² and Istanbul.²³ A composition of lion figures symmetrically placed on both sides of a tree of life is also seen on the ceramics.²⁴ The lions in Çanakale Archaeology Museum are located on a screen that is likely to have belonged to an ambo. It can be considered that the figures here are apotropaic descriptions.²⁵ The bodies of the lion figures are decorated with stripes. These decorative characteristics are more in the foreground than the natural stripes of the figure. This stylistic feature indicates the middle Byzantine period. A lion figure of identical type is observed on a stele dated to the tenth to twelfth centuries which is located in Istanbul Archaeology Museum.²⁶

Two parts of lintels were detected and they were understood to have been pieces of the same work (Fig. 8: 1–2, 3–4). The interlaced zigzags, braids and interlocking squares, which consist of bands, observed on these works are similar to the motif repertoire we see in Byzantine art during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. The style here indicates that the traditional practices of the capital city had been imitated in the provinces.

There are two screens, brought to the museum from the centre of Çanakale (Fig. 7: 1) and Nara military zone (Fig. 6: 5). One of them also contains an interlace composition. Similar specimens of this composition are observed in the early Byzantine period (Fig. 6: 5). The second screen is incised with its pier (Fig. 7: 1), on which there is a soffit motif. On the screen is a composition of intertwined rhomboids with palmettes at four corners. The compositions on both pier and screen are applications observed to have been common in Byzantium as of the early period. There are two screens from Karacaören village. One of them is reused material on the wall of a house (Fig. 6: 1–2). The other screen fragment is embedded in a

¹⁸ Türker 2009, fig. 13.

¹⁹ Atasoy and Parman 1983, p. 164 C30 inv. nos. 32, 33, 77.

²⁰ Afyonkarahisar Museum inv. no. 1397; Parman 2002, p. 162 A40 fig. 103.

²¹ Ötügen 2006, p. 47 fig. 13.

²² Fıratlı *et al.* 1990, pl. 59 n. 182.

²³ Fıratlı *et al.* 1990, pl. 29 n. 78a, pl. 100 no. 328a.

²⁴ Mercangöz 2007, p. 85.

²⁵ For some examples, see Orlandos 1937, p. 137; Fıratlı *et al.* 1990, p. 169 n. 328a.

²⁶ Fıratlı *et al.* 1990, pl. 29 n. 78a.

mortar block (Fig. 6: 3–4). It has a composition of lockets connected with interlacing, situated in a rectangular frame, and of rhomboids connected to each other by passing through and outside the lockets, the lockets being the centre. The same composition is detected on an ambo piece in Afyon Museum,²⁷ on the templon column capital in Uşak Museum and on the front side of a pier describing St Georgios at the excavation of Selçukler in Uşak.²⁸ The knotted interlace borders on the work display similarities to middle Byzantine specimens.

The works detected in and around Abydos are dated to the early and middle Byzantine period. If it is considered that there is limited archaeological data to support the importance of Abydos in the Hellespont in the Byzantine period, despite the historical data indicating it, the works we detected can contribute significantly to studies to be conducted on the reconstruction of the early and middle Byzantine periods of the region.

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²⁷ Parman 2002, fig. 73.

²⁸ Fıratlı 1970, p. 132.

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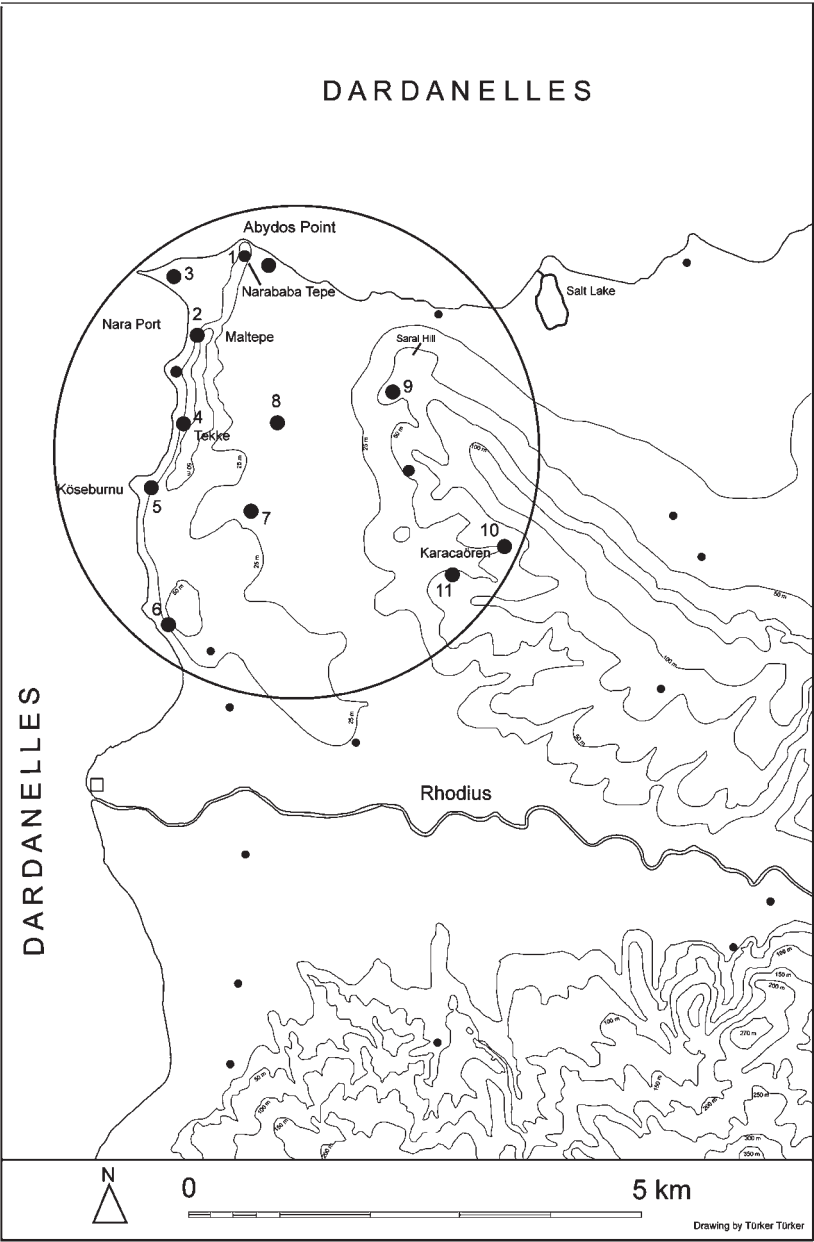


Fig. 1: Location of Byzantine Abydos (Türker Türker).



Fig. 2: Coins from Nara in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum.



Fig. 3: Coins from Karacaören Village in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum.



1



2



3



4



5

Fig. 4: 1-2. Column base on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village;
 3. Column shaft from Karacaören Village; 4. Import from Karacaören Village;
 5. Import from Karacaören Village in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum.



1



2



3



4

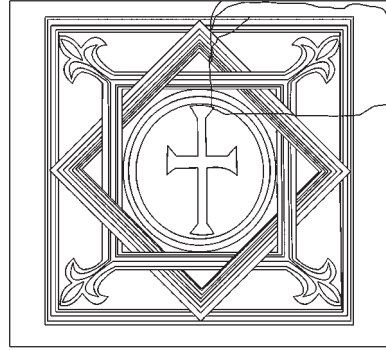


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Fig. 5: 1. Column capital in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 2. Column capital in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 3. Column capital from Karacaören Village; 4. Pier on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village; 5. Door jamb from Karacaören Village.



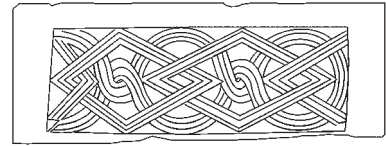
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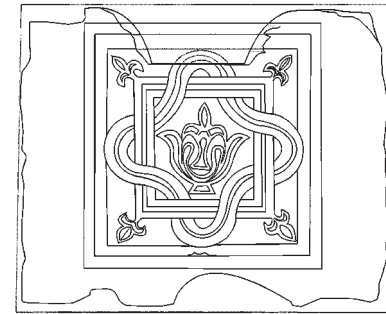
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Fig. 6: 1. Screen fragment on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village;
 2. Reconstruction drawing of screen fragment on the wall of house in the Karacaören Village (Türker Türker); 3. Screen fragment from Karacaören Village;
 4. Screen fragment from Karacaören Village (Türker Türker); 5. Screen from Nara in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 6. Screen from Nara in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker).

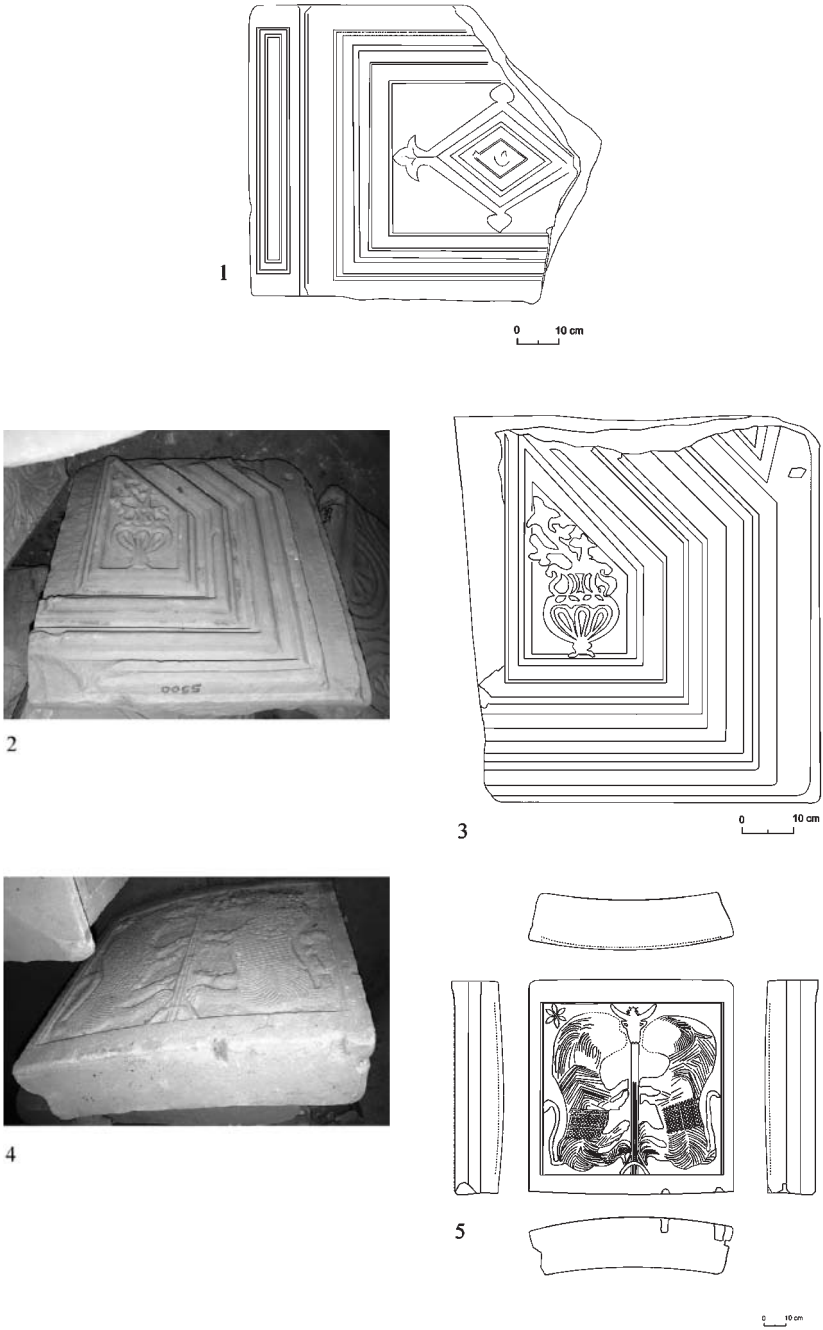
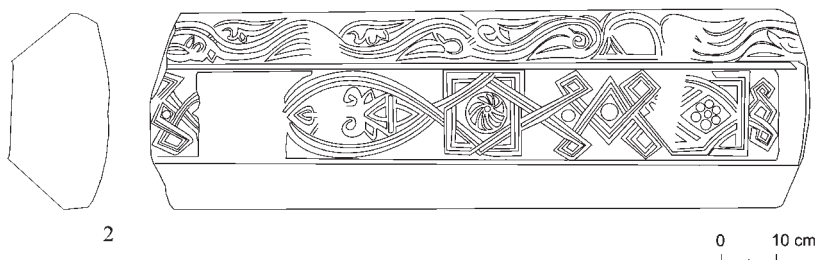


Fig. 7: 1. Screen incised with its pier in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker); 2. Screen of ambo staircase in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 3. Screen of ambo staircase in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker); 4. Screen of ambo podium in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 5. Screen of ambo podium in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker).



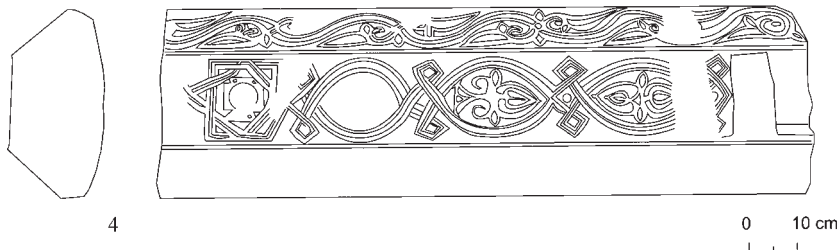
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Fig. 8: 1. Lintel fragment in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 2. Lintel fragment in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker); 3. Lintel fragment in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum; 4. Lintel fragment in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (Türker Türker)

The Zion Hymns as Instruments of Power

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Abstract

Efforts to locate a sitz im leben for the Psalms labeled Zion Hymns have come to little agreement, either on dating or on occasion. This essay employs the methods of New Cultural History to explore how these hymns serve as instruments of power. The Zion Hymns reify the centrality of Jerusalem and an ideology that views the human powers of Jerusalem — both royal and priestly — as guarantors of peace and security against chaos.

Traditional form-critical study of the Psalms has aimed at identifying the historical *Sitz im Leben* of a given form's origin. A New Historicist reading redefines this goal as a sociocultural *Sitz* for a form's usage,¹ as this essay illustrates for the psalms known as Zion Hymns. After first delineating the form along traditional lines, I will use the approaches of New Cultural History to examine the objectification of social experience embedded in the form. The form itself is a linguistically circumscribed semantic field within which the construction of immense edifices of symbolic representations was possible. The Zion Hymns are texts of poetic history-writing, systemically distorted communication intended to reify institutional order in ancient Israel.

¹ Kelly (1970, p. 310) calls this an "existential sitz im leben".

² Gunkel 1998, p. 22; see also Ollenburger 1987, p. 16; Lipiński 1965, p. 153. Psalm 132 is usually rather designated as a Royal Psalm (Sabourin 1969, p. 231), leaving only the Psalms 46, 48, 84, 87, and 122.

Delineation of the Zion Hymn Form

The Zion Hymn *Gattung* is delineated not mainly by form at all, but by content. Because of this, there is debate as to just which psalms are Zion Hymns. Gunkel identified as Zion Hymns Psalms 46, 48, 76, 84, 87, 122, and 132.² Mowinckel³ excludes Psalm 46, since Zion and Jerusalem are not named, although Psalm 46 is clearly a “brother” to Psalm 76⁴ and has been called the “classic Zion Hymn.”⁵ Both Gerstenberger and von Rad consider only Psalms 46, 48, and 76 to be Zion Hymns.⁶ This essay will essentially follow Gunkel’s listing of the Zion Hymns, although Psalms 68 and 86 are certainly connected to this corpus. The reasons for the ambiguity in identifying the Zion Hymns are apparent when one considers the supposed key features of the Zion hymnic form.

These are features not of form but of content.⁷ First is the identification of Mt Zion with the mythical highest mountain in the utmost North, equated with Mt Zaphon of Canaanite mythology. This is evident in Ps. 48:2 (*cf.* Job 37:22; Isa. 14:13). As will be shown, it is unlikely that Zaphon simply means “north” in this psalm.⁸ In some cases, this first theme includes the related idea of God dwelling on Zion (Pss. 46; 48; 76), but this is not an integral element to the genre.⁹ Secondly, streams (of paradise?) flow from this mountain, as seen in Pss. 46:4 and 84:7.¹⁰ Third, this is the location of Yahweh’s primordial victory over the sea of chaos.¹¹ This motif appears in Ps. 46:2–3. Certain psalms will play on this dual image of water — rivers of paradise and sea of chaos (*e.g.*, Ps. 46:3–4 v. 7).¹² Fourth, God also

³ Mowinckel 1982, p. 40.

⁴ Schökel 1986, p. 425.

⁵ Körting 2006, p. 179. Westermann (1965, pp. 61, 65–93) considers Psalm 84 to be a Communal Lament, and adds Psalm 68 as another Zion Hymn, but he is alone in this.

⁶ Gerstenberger 1974, p. 215; see also von Rad 1965, p. 157. Wanke (1966, p. 13) considers Psalm 46 to lack the elements of a hymn, and to be a mixed form somewhere between a Zion Hymn and a Psalm of Confidence. Cumming (1934) eliminates the entire category of Zion Hymns and calls Psalms 48, 84, 87, and 122 “Temple Praises”. There are also many psalms which can be said to be related to the Zion Hymns, including Psalms 2, 24, 29, 47, 48, 68, 93, and 110 (Auffret 1991, pp. 339–341, 345–347; see also Kselman 2004, pp. 69–71).

⁷ The form is the same as all other types of Hymns (Gunkel 1967, pp. 11–12; Gerstenberger 1974, p. 208). First is a call to praise, although this is often missing in the Zion Hymns (Peifer 1978, p. 1691). Next is a recounting of God’s deeds, and a conclusion.

⁸ As per Körting 2006, p. 169.

⁹ Schreiner 1963, p. 219.

¹⁰ Bauer 1977, pp. 65–66; see also Lipiński 1965, p. 445; Schreiner 1963, p. 222.

¹¹ Wanke 1966, p. 68; see also Gerstenberger 1974, p. 217.

¹² Kelly 1970, p. 307; see also Vermeylen 2007, p. 66.

defeats the nations of the earth here, in a great battle at dawn.¹³ This is reflected in Pss. 46:5–6; 48:5–8; and 76. This victory was accomplished both through theophany (Ps. 48:5), and through God’s word of reproach (Ps. 46:6). Psalm 46 places the “roaring” of the chaos waters (v. 4) in parallelism with the “roaring” of the nations (v. 7).¹⁴ By means of this victory, God destroys war forever (Ps. 46:9, 11), achieving true peace (Ps. 122).¹⁵ Gunkel saw this as an eschatological prediction.¹⁶ A fifth element is the so-called *Völkerwallfahrt* — the nations make pilgrimage to Zion to worship Yahweh (Pss. 68:28–29; 86:9; 87; probably also in Ps. 48:11).¹⁷ Some scholars omit this fifth characteristic as a post-exilic addition, reflecting the theology of Isaiah 60–62 and Zech. 14:16–19.¹⁸ But, “To maintain [this] ... [one] must deny any connection between this motif and the very similar motif which occurs in the royal Psalms.”¹⁹ It is safe to treat the *Völkerwallfahrt* as an integral element of the form.

Some of the Zion Hymns contain only one or two of these five elements, while Psalms 84 and 132 lack all of them. At the same time, Psalm 87, which contains only the Mt Zaphon allusion and a dubious reference to the *Völkerwallfahrt*, has been called the purest example of a Zion Hymn,²⁰ and has many lexical ties to Psalms 46 and 48.²¹ The group is a very loose collection, whose limits cannot be strictly defined, with the common emphasis on Zion and interplay of the five elements.

Canaanite Elements

We can begin determining a *Sitz im Leben* for the Zion Hymns from the features just outlined. Four of the five features just outlined are drawn from Canaanite mythology.²² The mythical Mt Zaphon, the highest mountain of the utmost North, is actually Cassius Mons, modern Jebel el-Agra, a bit north of Ugarit (CTA 71.50 = Gordon 113) — sacred even in pre-Canaanite Hittite documents (*e.g.*, Ullikummi tablet 2).²³ The word “zaphon” never

¹³ Wanke 1966, p. 73.

¹⁴ Kelly 1970, p. 306.

¹⁵ Kelly 1970, p. 306; see also Schökel 1986, p. 360; Lohfink 1989, p. 152.

¹⁶ Gunkel 1967, p. 31; 1998, p. 56; *cf.* Eissfeldt 1957, p. 802.

¹⁷ Dahood 1954, p. 16; see also Schreiner 1963, p. 290; Roberts 1973, p. 329.

¹⁸ Ollenburger 1987, p. 15; see also Peifer 1978, p. 1696.

¹⁹ Roberts 1973, p. 338.

²⁰ Both by Mowinckel (1982, p. 90) and Nasuti (1988, p. 151).

²¹ Maier 2007, pp. 476–477.

²² Körting 2006, p. 170.

²³ Albright 1950, p. 23.

means simply “north” in Ugaritic.²⁴ In Canaanite mythology, it is the home of Baal (*CTA* 6.1.14–31; 4.5.116–119). Thus, in the *Baal Epic*,²⁵ the mountain is called “the sacred mountain” (6.2.23), “the cosmic Zaphon” (6.3.22), “Baal on the peaks of Zaphon” (2.5.23), “Baal on the heights of Zaphon” (*CTA* 3.4.82; 4.5.85; 5.1.11), and “my mountain, the divine Zaphon ... the mountain of possession” (IVAB 3.31).²⁶ The rivers of paradise also signify the residence of the high god El,²⁷ called in *Baal and Anat*, “the midst of the headwaters of the two oceans” (*Baal and Anat* IIIAB C.4; *ANET* 129–135, 138–142; also 51.4.21–22; 2 *Aqhat* 6:47–48; 49.1.5–6; *CTA* 3.5.14; 4.4.21; 6.1.33; 17.6.47;).²⁸ Note the god El has his own mountain, which is not the same as Baal’s mountain, Zaphon.²⁹

The victory of Baal over the chaos sea is well known (*Baal Epic* I). It is after his defeat of the sea that Baal receives his temple on Zaphon (*KTU* 1.3–4).³⁰ The mountain is therefore called the “hill of victory” (*CTA* 3.3.28; 10.3.31), and “in the hands of Zaphon are victory and triumph” (*KTU* 1.19 ii: 34–36). In some texts, this victory occurs at dawn.³¹ This victory, reflected in *Anat* 3.11–15, will “banish war from the earth.”³² A few scholars argue that the victory over the *nations* is unknown in the Canaanite literature and cannot be derived directly from the victory over chaos, meaning it must have been derived from Israelite historical experience.³³ Nevertheless, Ugaritic texts attest to Baal’s victory “over many enemies ... who would drive Baal from the heights of Zaphon” (*CTA* 3.3.43–4.47; 5.1.1–8).³⁴

²⁴ Clifford 1972, p. 57; see also Robinson 1974, p. 119.

²⁵ Driver 1956.

²⁶ Albright (1950, p.10) quotes an Aramaic magical text from the Persian period, “from Saphon Baal will bless you” (col. 7.3).

²⁷ Kraus 1966, p. 202; see also Wanke 1966, p. 67.

²⁸ Clifford 1972, p. 48. Junker (1962, p. 200) attributes the river image to the Exilic encounter with the Euphrates in Babylon. This option is briefly entertained by Bauer (1977, p. 65).

²⁹ Roberts 1973, p. 335. El’s unnamed mountain, perhaps Kh. Afqa at the source of Nahr Ibrahim, is found especially in the Baal-Yamm Cycle (*CTA* 1 and 2; Clifford 1972, p. 39). See *CTA* 1.2.1–3, 21–23; 2.1.20; 3.3.16. Clifford (1972, p. 63) has shown that references to “El-Zaphon” do not connect the god with the mountain but actually deify Zaphon (note *CTA* 3.3.26; *RS* 24.245). Wyatt’s (2007, pp. 108–111) argument that El’s mountain is actually Zaphon is rather convoluted.

³⁰ “Zaphon” may be related to “Typhon”, the Greek equivalent of the monster Yamm (*Iliad* 2.781–783; Strabo 13.4.6, 16.2.7; Hesiod, *Theogony* 304, 306–307, 820–822; Wyatt 2007, p. 113). Yet it seems unlikely that the name of the mountain became the name of the monster defeated there (Day 2002, p. 108).

³¹ Keel 1978, p. 114.

³² Sabourin 1969, p. 232. Peace through the destruction of the weapons of war is a common image in the ancient Near East, as seen in *Sefire* 1A.38–39 and *Esarhadon* 9–10.

³³ Wanke 1966, p. 77; see also Ohler 1969, pp. 165–166; Roberts 1973, p. 337.

³⁴ Clifford 1972, p. 59.

We know such myths were quite mobile. Thus, Zaphon becomes the name of a hill in the Nile Delta, Tahpanhes-Daphne (Zeus-Kasios; Exod. 14:2, 9), and perhaps of Tell es-Saidiyeh in Transjordan (Josh. 13:27).³⁵ The temple of Baal in Ugarit itself was referred to as Zaphon (*UM* text 107).³⁶ A temple in Nineveh is called Zaphon in order to entice Baal to dwell there.³⁷ "Holy mountains were customarily called Zaphon and ... Zion and the holy place of Ugarit were just two examples of this tendency."³⁸ What all of this constitutes, moreover, is an incorporation of Canaanite motifs without any wholesale adoption of the myths.³⁹ Images of Baal's mountain have been liberally mixed with motifs about El's mountain.⁴⁰ Baal of Zaphon was a sea and storm god, the patron of ports and ships,⁴¹ of which there is no echo in the Zion Hymns, except in Ps. 48:8 where Yahweh is the *destroyer* of ships. Baal of Zaphon never appears in myth without his bark or boat⁴², absent in the Zion Hymns. In Ps. 132:2, 5, Yahweh is called the "Mighty One of Jacob". Nowhere is "Mighty One" used as an epithet of either Baal or El.⁴³ Nowhere does El defeat chaos.⁴⁴

There is, therefore, no need to argue that the Zion theology was part of the Jebusite culture of pre-Israelite Jerusalem as proposed by many,⁴⁵ or that the Zion Hymns were written intentionally to debunk Canaanite mythology.⁴⁶

³⁵ Clifford 1972, p. 137.

³⁶ Robinson 1974, p. 121.

³⁷ Steiner and Nims 1985, pp. 63, 70 = Prologue col. XVII, lines 1–13.

³⁸ Robinson 1974, p. 119.

³⁹ Peifer 1978, p. 1695.

⁴⁰ Roberts 1973, pp. 332, 334, 336.

⁴¹ Albright 1950, pp. 9, 12.

⁴² Albright 1950, pp. 4, 8.

⁴³ Ollenburger (1987, pp. 41–45) sees Yahweh's taking of Zion as symbolic of his taking of Zaphon, and hence his dethronement of Baal. Perhaps the destruction of ships in Ps. 48:8 also symbolises the defeat of Baal.

⁴⁴ Roberts 1973, p. 336. Furthermore, there are parallels of the Zion Hymns elsewhere in the literature of the ancient Near East, in cases much further afield geographically and temporally. In Mesopotamia, the mountain is a symbol of Enlil in the *Hymn to Bel I* (= R 4.2, 27 no. 2 in Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 1861–1909), which speaks of the "great mountain of Enlil Imkharkag whose peak reaches to heaven" (Cumming 1934, p. 114), a mountain of the far North (Ohler 1969, p. 154). The same text describes Enlil as a bull, which calls to mind the description of Yahweh in Psalm 132 as the "Mighty One", equivalent to Hebrew *'abbir*, which can also mean "bull" (Ps. 50:13). The Mesopotamian *Song of the Eduba Temple of Zababa* is practically an Akkadian version of a Zion Hymn. The god has chosen one city to be his residence (line 7; cf. Ps. 87:2), rendering it holy (line 2), and lives within its temple (line 1), making it a place of eternal security (lines 3–5; cf. Ps. 122:6–7). The city is acclaimed: "Oh, Eduba, your king, Zababa, has founded the house on your surface; he has chosen a residence on your high place" (Lipiński 1965, pp. 155–156). Further, every temple in Mesopotamia was built on a *du-ku* "pure" hill (Keel 1978, p. 113).

⁴⁵ Schreiner 1963, p. 226; see also Hayes 1963, pp. 421, 424; von Rad 1965; Kraus 1966, p. 201; de Menzies 1979, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Or both, as per Janowski (1991, pp. 255, 260); see also Ohler 1969, p. 156.

Dating

In determining the *Sitz im Leben* of the Zion Hymns, most scholars have tried to date their composition. The cult of the First Temple has been the standard assumption.⁴⁷ Some of the themes of these psalms have been tied to the united monarchy.⁴⁸ Eissfeldt assigned both Psalms 46 and 76 to David.⁴⁹ Weiser places these psalms along with the Enthronement Psalms in the premonarchic league covenant festival,⁵⁰ and Cross sees Psalm 132 (minus vv. 10, 13–18) as Davidic,⁵¹ and Psalm 46 as “archaic.”⁵² It is certain, however, that no psalm is, in its present form, pre-monarchic. Sorg dates the original version of Psalm 87 to the time of Solomon, but his “original” contains none of the Zion Hymns elements.⁵³ Laato also finds Psalm 132’s Zion theology antithetical to Deuteronomistic “Shema” theology, and therefore pre-exilic⁵⁴, while its absence of archaisms prevents Hillers from assigning it to the early monarchy.⁵⁵ Schreiner considers the image of Jerusalem in Psalm 122 as capital of “all Israel” to be early post-Deuteronomistic.⁵⁶

At the same time, several of the Zion Hymns have been dated as post-exilic.⁵⁷ Mowinckel calls Psalm 122 post-exilic because of its Aramaisms, and its motifs borrowed from First Temple pilgrimage songs.⁵⁸ Körting likewise dates Psalm 122 to the later post-exilic period because of its dependence on the theology of Chronicles.⁵⁹ Others consider Psalm 132’s use of the expressions *menuha*, *ebyonim*, and *hasidim* to be post-exilic.⁶⁰ It is furthermore possible that some Zion hymns are derivative of others: Vermeylen proposes that 76 is dependent on 46 and 48⁶¹; Körting seems to suggest that

⁴⁷ Vermeylen 2007, p. 78.

⁴⁸ Roberts 1973, p. 343; see also Ollenburger 1987, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Eissfeldt, 1968, p. 11 and 1957, p. 807, respectively.

⁵⁰ Weiser, 1962.

⁵¹ Cross, 1973, pp. 97, 233.

⁵² Cross, 1973, p. 174. Psalms 120–134 have been called a very old collection (Gerstenberger 1974, p. 211).

⁵³ Sorg, 1969, pp. 23–24. These are only introduced by recension into the Babylonian and Egyptian text families (Sorg 1969, pp. 25, 27–31), with the *Völkerwallfahrt* not introduced until the Greek translation of the Septuagint (1969, pp. 29, 70; but cf. Maier 2007, p. 480).

⁵⁴ Laato 1992, p. 54.

⁵⁵ Hillers 1968, p. 51 n.12.

⁵⁶ Schreiner 1963, p. 382.

⁵⁷ Peifer 1978, p. 1696.

⁵⁸ Mowinckel 1982, pp. 98, 107.

⁵⁹ Körting 2006, p. 30.

⁶⁰ Kruse 1983, pp. 287–288.

⁶¹ Vermeylen 2007, p. 87.

87 depends on 48.⁶² It is quite difficult, however, to postulate a real sequence or development among the hymns. In the same way, it is not necessary for the Zion Hymns to post-date the oracles of Isaiah, if it is a case merely of the development of “the same fundamental message.”⁶³ In fact, the universal peace of Isaiah 11:1–9 seems far more political than what is presented in Pss. 46:9–12 and 87,⁶⁴ and the equation of Zion with the community, found in Deutero-Isaiah, is absent in the Zion Hymns.⁶⁵

It has been argued by a few scholars that all of these psalms are post-exilic.⁶⁶ They hold that when foes are called “ungodly,” the war described is a religious one, and therefore Maccabean.⁶⁷ The *Völkerwallfahrt* must post-date Isaiah 60’s third, Hellenistic, edition.⁶⁸ Psalm 46 refers to the battle between Judah Maccabee and Bacchides in 162 BC.⁶⁹ Psalm 48 calls God “king” and is therefore part of the theocracy 166–104 BC, and describes the battle between Antiochus VII and Simon in 138 BC.⁷⁰ The line “blessed is the man” in Ps. 84:5, 12 is a Greek idiom used in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, Euripides’ *Bacchae*, and Pindar.⁷¹ Psalm 87 copies Isa. 4:3, 5; 30:7; and 60:1, 2, 11, 14, 18, while Hasmonean Hasideans appear in Ps. 132:9.⁷²

This reading of the psalms concentrates on diachronic issues of time of composition to the exclusion of synchronic variation in the groups which formed the Psalter, and ignores the archaisms in a psalm like Psalm 48.⁷³ God as “Great King” in Psalm 48 could just as easily reflect Assyrian royal propaganda.⁷⁴ Gunkel and Mowinckel long ago showed

⁶² Körting 2006, p. 177.

⁶³ Vermeylen 2007, pp. 93–94.

⁶⁴ Eissfeldt 1968, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Robinson 1974, p. 123.

⁶⁶ Treves 1988, following Kennett 1928, pp. 132, 145. Treves maintains that any psalm which calls Zion “holy hill” or “mountain” must come after Josiah, since before that king’s reign there were many holy hills (1988, p. 11). Nevertheless, Zaphon could be the Canaanite’s holy mountain amidst numerous holy hills. Treves adds that Horeb was far more important than Zion as God’s mountain before the Exile (1988, p. 11). He believes that any reference to the temple is post-exilic, since the palace was more important while it existed (1988, p. 11). These latter two evidences, however, depend on the pre-exilic dating of other texts, the early dating of which is just as debatable as that of the Psalms.

⁶⁷ Treves 1988, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Treves 1988, p. 11; cf. Vermeylen 2007, p. 225.

⁶⁹ Treves 1988, p. 45.

⁷⁰ Treves 1988, pp. 46–47.

⁷¹ Treves 1988, p. 71.

⁷² Treves 1988, pp. 75, 95.

⁷³ Dahood 1954, pp. 15, 19; *contra* Ohler 1969, p. 115. It does not, however, create problems for explaining the Canaanite parallels (Körting 2006, p. 170), given that these parallels seem to come in late texts like Job (Day 1985, p. 4).

⁷⁴ Barré 1988, p. 559.

that it was impossible for Maccabean hymns to be glorifying the house of David as Psalms 110, 122, and 132 do.⁷⁵ If a post-exilic date can be supported, it would be safer to connect the Zion Hymns (*e.g.*, Psalm 132) with the Chronicler and his hope for a Davidic restoration.⁷⁶ All the same, strong assertions of Zion's inviolability seem "much more natural before the destruction of the Temple than after it."⁷⁷

Theories for *Sitz im Leben*

Some authors have seen the purpose of the Zion psalms as historical recollection — as accounts of the events which inspired their composition. Psalms 46, 48, and 76 have been attributed to the confrontation between Hezekiah and Sennacherib, a connection made as early as the Septuagint title of Psalm 76,⁷⁸ and accepted by Rashi.⁷⁹ Vermeylen attributes Ps. 46:2–8 to the invasion of Sennacherib, with the rest of the psalm being added in the late Persian or Hellenistic period.⁸⁰

Mowinckel admits that these psalms may have been applied to historical situations, but denies that any historical event is behind their composition.⁸¹ This is the consensus of most scholars.⁸² The defeat of the nations is mythical and integral to the *Canaanite* form.⁸³ As far as the original occasion of these psalms, one must agree with Gerstenberger that this "intention ... remains an enigma."⁸⁴

The use of these psalms is most likely ritual. McCaffrey has listed as characteristics of "Religious Ritual Language:" artificially archaic terminology — note the Zaphon imagery (Ps. 48:3), unusual word order (not clearly present in the Psalter), wordplay, structural mnemonic devices (this is the nature of psalms), metaphoric language (note Pss. 48:4; 76:3–4; 84:7, 12),

⁷⁵ Gunkel 1998, pp. 99, 119; see also Mowinckel 1982, p. 48; *cf.* Eissfeldt 1957, p. 802.

⁷⁶ Körting 2006, p. 119; see also Miller 2002.

⁷⁷ Day 1985, p. 134. It becomes quite difficult to make Pss. 18:5–18 and 89:10–11 post-exilic (Day 1985, p. 187).

⁷⁸ Schreiner 1963, p. 233; Eissfeldt 1957, p. 802.

⁷⁹ Kirkpatrick 1902, p. 253; see also Perowne 1878–1879, pp. 379, 388. Less frequent associations are with the attack of Moab, Edom, and Ammon upon Jehoshaphat (held by Delitzsch; Kirkpatrick 1902, p. 254), or of Pekah and Resin's war against Ahaz (cited as an alternative by Kirkpatrick 1902).

⁸⁰ Vermeylen 2007, pp. 67, 72, 74; this is the same period where he places the addition of vv. 1, 8, 10–12 to Psalm 48 (2007, pp. 76, 79).

⁸¹ Mowinckel 1982, pp. 85, 110.

⁸² Gunkel 1903, p. 31; see also Schreiner 1963, p. 230; Gerstenberger 1974, p. 218; Ollenburger 1987, p. 71; Eaton 1976, p. 109; Westermann 1981, p. 244.

⁸³ Westermann 1981, p. 244; see also Mowinckel 1982, p. 88.

⁸⁴ Gerstenberger 1974, p. 217.

incoherence and references to unexplained objects (Ps. 46:1–4), unidentified speakers (Ps. 48:8), inconsistent pronouns and tenses (Pss. 46:2 v. 11; 76:7–8 vv. 11–12; 122:1–2 v. 6; and 132:1ff. vv. 6–70), petitions to a spiritual entity who does not answer (Pss. 48:10ff.; 84:9–10; but cf. 46:11 and 132:11ff.), and directives to an audience (46:9; 48:13–14; 76:12; 122:6–7; and 132:7).⁸⁵ Many of the Zion Hymns have been seen as liturgical.⁸⁶ Psalms 122 and 132 are called Psalms of Ascent in their titles, 122:1–4 and 132:7–9 having suggested a pilgrimage context.⁸⁷

Psalm 84:2, 6–8 seems to indicate the same thing.⁸⁸ Verse 7 suggests a festival of Yahweh held in Jerusalem.⁸⁹ Several scholars propose a context for the Zion Hymns in a cultic repetition of 2 Samuel 7 during a Sukkoth enthronement festival.⁹⁰ The proposal of a covenant-renewal ceremony, connected with a Sukkoth New Year's divine enthronement festival, has been around for many decades.⁹¹ Psalm 132's repetition of the events of 2 Samuel 7 support setting the Zion Hymns in such a festival.⁹² Psalm 132 links the entry of the Ark to Jerusalem (vv. 3–10, 13–18) with the Davidic covenant (vv. 11–12), and may suggest the king's role in such an entry liturgy (vv. 6–10).⁹³ The rubrics of the liturgy were spelled out by Kraus, Mowinckel, and Gerstenberger on the basis of the "directions" in Pss. 132:7–8 and 48:13–14.⁹⁴ Mowinckel thought the victory over the nations was recreated in ritual fighting games.⁹⁵ Moreover, it is precisely as "king" that Yahweh defeated Chaos itself (Pss. 24:1–2; 29:3–4; 33:6–9; 95:3; 96:10).⁹⁶ So Mowinckel posited a festal epiphany of Yahweh, in which the Ark being processed into Jerusalem was ritually unveiled, as seen in Ps. 48:4,6.⁹⁷ The "early rain" in Ps. 84:7 may be an allusion to Sukkoth.⁹⁸

⁸⁵ McCaffrey 1992.

⁸⁶ Fretheim 1967, p. 299; see also Westermann 1981, p. 153; Perowne 1878–1879, p. 389.

⁸⁷ Ollenburger 1987, p. 24; see also Mowinckel 1982, p. 170; Peifer 1978, p. 1692; Perowne 1878–1879, p. 376; Sabourin 1969, p. 243; Lipiński 1965, p. 448; Gerstenberger 1974, p. 211.

⁸⁸ Wanke 1966, p. 18; see also Gerstenberger 1974, p. 211.

⁸⁹ Schreiner 1963, p. 289.

⁹⁰ Kraus 1966, pp. 183–186; see also Gerstenberger 1974, p. 217; Eaton 1976, pp. 125–126; Westermann 1965, p. 145.

⁹¹ Weiser 1962, p. 33; see also Mowinckel 1952.

⁹² Eaton 1986, p. 125.

⁹³ Mowinckel 1982, p. 129.

⁹⁴ Kraus 1966; Mowinckel 1982, p. 172; Gerstenberger 1974, p. 217. See also Schreiner 1963, pp. 47–50; Hillers 1968, pp. 49–50, but cf. p. 52 and Dahood 1954, p. 18.

⁹⁵ Mowinckel 1982, pp. 85, 181; see also Eaton 1986, pp. 108–109.

⁹⁶ Mowinckel 1921, p. 214.

⁹⁷ Mowinckel 1982, p. 142.

⁹⁸ Sabourin 1969, p. 239. There are parallels with the Mesopotamian *akitu* festival, which is often related to the Sukkoth festival (Mowinckel 1921, p. 329). In the *akitu*, the god's re-entry into the city re-enacts his first entry and his victory over chaos (Cohen 1992), as with Yahweh's first entry into Zion.

There are many problems with this construct. Since the 1960s, the majority of scholars outside Britain have cautioned against applying everything to the Sukkoth festival. No doubt Sukkoth was a celebration of the New Year (Exod. 23:16; 34:11; Deut. 31:10; Zech. 14:16–17; the Gezer Calendar; *KTU* 1.41[=1.87]. 51), and no doubt this was the highest of feasts (Lev. 23:39; Judg. 21:19; 1 Kgs 8:2, 65; 12:32; Hos 9:5).⁹⁹ The king had a major role in this feast (1 Sam. 20:5–6; 1 Kgs 8:5). Moreover, in both Mesopotamia and Syria, enthronement is specifically linked with an urban place of enthronement, a coronation city.¹⁰⁰ This is also true for the enthronement of Yahweh (Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Ps. 99:1–2; Mic. 4:7). In fact, the enthronement sites are “‘chosen’ by divine initiative” in both Mesopotamia and Israel (Pss. 2:6; 132:11, 13; 1 Kgs 14:21).¹⁰¹ But we can go no further. The feast as Mowinckel and others elaborated it has not held up to criticism, although I will not recount the full scope of that critique.¹⁰²

Psalm 132 unites the themes of Zion and David, as does Psalm 122.¹⁰³ On the other hand, Davidic theology is usually concerned with legitimacy of the dynasty and its succession (2 Samuel 7), emphases absent in the Zion Hymns, even in Psalm 132.¹⁰⁴ One should not confuse the notions found in Psalms 2 and 110 with those of the Zion Hymns, even with Psalm 132.

A Sociological *Sitz*

How, then, can a *Sitz im Leben* be found? The answer lies in analysing the psalms’ broader function in society. New Cultural History, a movement now almost two decades old, associated with historians Roger Darnton, Carlo Ginzburg, Roger Chartier, and Peter Burke, draws “together the literary historians associated with the ‘New Historicism’ ... as well as what we might call ‘plain’ or ‘ordinary’ historians.”¹⁰⁵ “New Cultural History is the dominant form of cultural history — some would even say the dominant form of history — practised today.”¹⁰⁶ It holds that there is continuity

⁹⁹ Eaton 1976, pp. 103, 105–106.

¹⁰⁰ Buccellati 1964, pp. 56–57.

¹⁰¹ Buccellati 1964, pp. 60–61.

¹⁰² Psalm 132 may not even refer to 2 Samuel 7; Rabbi David Kimhi saw it as alluding to 2 Sam. 24:18–25 (Rosenberg 1991, p. 497).

¹⁰³ Fretheim 1967, p. 300.

¹⁰⁴ Ollenburger 1987, pp. 64–65; *contra* Körting 2006, p. 113.

¹⁰⁵ Burke 2004, pp. 31–32.

¹⁰⁶ Burke 2004, p. 49.

between history and rhetoric.¹⁰⁷ In this, it builds on Ernst Cassirer's statement a half-century ago that, "myth is an objectification of man's social experience."¹⁰⁸ The myth embodied in the Zion Hymns might also serve this function. Language is very powerful. "Language constructs immense edifices of symbolic representations that appear to tower over the reality of everyday life, building linguistically circumscribed semantic fields within which this objectification is possible."¹⁰⁹ The *Gattung* of the Zion Hymns has already been described as such a semantic field. The various elements — Zaphon, defeat of the nations — are a part of the jargon of this Zion field. If "the historian performs an essentially poetic act" in writing history,¹¹⁰ then we can read poetry as a text of history writing. Indeed, we cannot understand poetry without seeing its function in society.¹¹¹

What function do the Zion Hymns serve in defining society? In general, "homogeneous space and linear time seem to be the ultimate co-ordinates for modern humanity. A global and even planetary experience of the world no longer allows for the existence of a centre."¹¹² On the other hand, most of pre-modern humanity held to hierarchical views of geography, to differentiated domains of space.¹¹³ Pan-Hellenists are able to apply these psalms to events which occur much later in Israelite history than the psalms' origins, precisely because they could serve the same sociological functions as they had centuries earlier, just as Luther could reuse Psalm 46 centuries later as "Ein Feste Burg ist Unser Gott" in the context of Christian battle against the Turks.¹¹⁴ Yet, "When we ask for whom the Bible was written, it is hardly a particular historical event that confronts us. It is the historical context of an intellectual world of piety and philosophy that sees itself in terms of a very emphatic construct."¹¹⁵

Zion is a multivalent symbol. It denotes Yahweh's kingship,¹¹⁶ within a symbolic system linked with enthronement,¹¹⁷ and which consequently

¹⁰⁷ Ginzburg 2000, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Cassirer 1946, p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 40–41.

¹¹⁰ Kramer 1989, p. 108.

¹¹¹ Geertz 1983, p. 117.

¹¹² Poorthuis 1996, p. 1.

¹¹³ Vermeulen 2007, p. 29.

¹¹⁴ Kirkpatrick 1902, pp. 254–255; see also Bauer 1977, p. 59. Likewise, Psalm 122 became the medieval hymn, "Celestic Urbs Jerusalem, Beata Pacis Visio" (Alonso Schöckel and Strus 1980, p. 235).

¹¹⁵ Thompson 1999, p. 42.

¹¹⁶ Ollenburger 1987, pp. 19 and *passim*; note Pss. 48:3 and 84:4 and the centrality of God, in v. 6, in Psalm 46; Schreiner 1963, p. 219.

¹¹⁷ Ollenburger 1987, p. 20.

raises human kingship to symbolic dimensions.¹¹⁸ Yahweh's kingship is the guarantee of order versus the chaos vanquished in the Zion Hymns.¹¹⁹ Zion is Yahweh's royal residence (Pss. 46:5; 48:9; 76:3), and therefore, Zion is a symbol of this security against chaos,¹²⁰ as seen in Ps. 87:5b. The defeat of chaos in the universe is intrinsically tied to the unshakable nature of Zion (Ps. 46:4–6).¹²¹ By analogy, as Zion is the site of Yahweh's victory over chaos, it is also the site of his victory over the nations (Ps. 48:8–9).¹²² Yahweh's presence equals security,¹²³ and the safety of Zion is proof of this (Pss. 48; 46:6).¹²⁴ Both Yahweh and Zion are a refuge, and Zion is thus a symbol of refuge (Pss. 46:2, 6, 8, 12; 48:15).¹²⁵ God's kingship, human kingship, security against chaos, and refuge are all aspects of the multivalent and re-definable meaning of the Zion sign.¹²⁶

But why Zion? The actual hill called Zion in the Psalms is Mt Moriah on which the temple stood. This hill rises only 743 meters, lower than the surrounding Mount of Olives, Mt Scopus, and the hill now called "Mt Zion", southwest of Mt Moriah. The actual Mt Zaphon is, by comparison, a huge mountain.¹²⁷ Yet Ps. 89:13 says that Zion overshadows other mountains such as Tabor and Hermon. It is possible that Zion is sanctified as such a mountain by its temple.¹²⁸ This is the case in Mesopotamia, where the temple is the *axis mundi* both vertically and horizontally,¹²⁹ as Zion is in Psalms 46 and 48.¹³⁰ The narratives of 2 Samuel 7 and 2 Sam. 24:18–25, retold in Psalm 132, serve to legitimate Jerusalem by providing Jerusalem with a theophany (Ps. 48:4,6), prerequisite for all temples.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the Temple at times appears peripheral to the sanctity of Zion, as in Psalms 46 and 132,¹³² so perhaps the Temple was at one point legitimated by the

¹¹⁸ Ollenburger 1987, p. 145; see also Brettler 1989, *passim*; Eaton 1986, p. 127; Burke 2001, pp. 59–80; Körting 2006, p. 225.

¹¹⁹ Kelly 1970, pp. 311–312.

¹²⁰ Lohfink 1989, p. 151; see also Ollenburger 1987, pp. 66–67, 147; de Menzies 1979, p. 107.

¹²¹ Kelly 1970, p. 308.

¹²² Kelly 1970, p. 312; see also Gordon 1978, pp. 51–52; Ollenburger 1987, p. 71.

¹²³ Kirkpatrick 1902, p. 253; *passim* in Psalm 46.

¹²⁴ Kirkpatrick 1902, p. 253.

¹²⁵ Ollenburger 1987, pp. 74, 77.

¹²⁶ cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987, p. 75.

¹²⁷ Although the fact that Zion is a hill is also ideologically important (Körting 2006, p. 221).

¹²⁸ Keel 1978, p. 277.

¹²⁹ Michalowski 1992.

¹³⁰ Körting 2006, p. 217.

¹³¹ Keel 1978, p. 113.

¹³² Körting 2006, p. 117.

“mountain.”¹³³ In any case, the two are inseparable in these hymns.¹³⁴ Instead of the Temple, I would draw attention to Jerusalem as political capital.

New Cultural History examines how the ideas of a period relate to domination and power,¹³⁵ seeking “explanation of systemically distorted communication.”¹³⁶ This distortion is accomplished to legitimate domination and power.¹³⁷ Reality is socially constructed,¹³⁸ and society gives order to man’s experience; it gives him a baseline view of life, a *relativnaturliche Weltanschauung*.¹³⁹ Representations are a means whereby rulers establish what is “commonsense”, and convince the public that life is in order.¹⁴⁰ Order has been shown to be a key part of the Zion Hymns. The centrality of cult in Psalm 122, for example, is not a matter of piety but of the administration of equitable justice.¹⁴¹ Order has a political dimension. Reification, or making the human situation divinely or naturally authorised, often by saying that it reflects the divine or natural situation, gives institutions of power a status independent of human activity and signification.¹⁴² This is exactly what happens with human and divine kingship in the psalms.

All of these ideas are presented in symbols and signs. The centralisation of Yahwism implied in the Zion Hymns is, like all centralising pieces of mass culture, a product of the dominant order.¹⁴³ The highest level of power/order legitimation is symbolic universes, bodies of tradition integrating different areas of meaning.¹⁴⁴ Ideology is not illusion, but representation of social reality as it is seen by all to be.¹⁴⁵ These symbolic universes “are sheltering canopies over the institutional order”, delimiting what is relevant.¹⁴⁶ They do not eliminate other ideological choices as much as they dispose audiences to see one universe as concrete and normative.¹⁴⁷ They order history by establishing a shared collective memory and projecting a future.¹⁴⁸

¹³³ Junker 1962, p. 198.

¹³⁴ Körting 2006, p. 93.

¹³⁵ Hodder 1986, p. 165.

¹³⁶ Hodder 1986, p. 165.

¹³⁷ Althusser 1984, pp. 17, 20.

¹³⁸ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 11.

¹³⁹ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 16.

¹⁴⁰ Althusser 1984, p. 45; see also Heinz and Feldman 2007, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Alonso Schökel 1986, p. 359.

¹⁴² Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 90.

¹⁴³ Chartier 1998, p. 55.

¹⁴⁴ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 95.

¹⁴⁵ Shanks and Tilley 1987, p. 75.

¹⁴⁶ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 102; see also Althusser 1984, pp. 36, 39.

¹⁴⁷ Chartier 1998, p. 90; see also Althusser 1984, pp. 37–38.

¹⁴⁸ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 103; see also Heinz and Feldman 2007, p. 1.

This is why and how the Zion Hymns deal with historical events such as the entry of the Ark into Jerusalem and possible historical events like the defeat of the nations. All societies are constructs in the face of chaos, and the symbolic universes establish power and order to keep chaos at bay, as reflected in the primeval victory of Yahweh over chaos.¹⁴⁹

Symbolic universes are constructed by those whose power they preserve and legitimate, or in many cases, the societies structured around such power generate these universes themselves without the overt imposition of the rulers.¹⁵⁰ In either case, signs are always connected with the interests of social actors.¹⁵¹ States always have ideology to consecrate power and sanction its use.¹⁵² The power of the leaders is restored by the symbolic value which the individual in power possesses within the social order.¹⁵³ Such use of language and text to support power structures is propaganda,¹⁵⁴ incorporating and using myths and ideologies, which interrelate and mutually support.¹⁵⁵ Sociological propaganda specifically uses myths and symbolic universes to unify behavior and integrate a people.¹⁵⁶

But the symbolic universes do not really exist, and propaganda is feeble unless individuals participate somehow.¹⁵⁷ New Cultural History has placed great emphasis on “practice”, on what practices *do* to the participants.¹⁵⁸ The practices associated with ideological state apparatuses are rituals, rituals of the sort one might presume lie behind the Zion Hymns, even if not those of the Sukkoth festival.¹⁵⁹ Rituals revive communities, symbolically construct them, and provide collective identity.¹⁶⁰ One should look for the will of kings in the same place as that of gods — in rites and liturgies,¹⁶¹ and thus such propaganda must either be religious or replace religion.¹⁶² Worship is a constitutive act in world-construction and world-maintenance.¹⁶³

¹⁴⁹ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 103.

¹⁵⁰ Althusser 1984, pp. 37–38.

¹⁵¹ Shanks and Tilley 1987, p. 74.

¹⁵² Fried 1967, p. 238.

¹⁵³ Geertz 1983, p. 122.

¹⁵⁴ Chartier 1989, p. 160; see also Burke 1993, p. 86.

¹⁵⁵ Ellul 1965, pp. 38–40.

¹⁵⁶ Ellul 1965, p. 62.

¹⁵⁷ Ellul 1965, pp. 63–64; see also Althusser 1984, pp. 42–43.

¹⁵⁸ Burke 2004, pp. 57–59.

¹⁵⁹ Heinz and Feldman 2007, p. 1; see also Althusser 1984, p. 43. The suggestion of rituals of *reenactment*, however, accords well with patterns of propagandistic liturgy (Burke 2001, pp. 51–52).

¹⁶⁰ Burke 1993, p. 57.

¹⁶¹ Geertz 1983, p. 124; see also Brueggemann 1988, p. 30.

¹⁶² Burke 1993, p. 57.

¹⁶³ Brueggemann 1988, p. 27; 1991, p. 21.

If the capital city, Jerusalem, is the symbol of security and refuge and order, then the Jerusalem government is society's assurance of security, refuge, and order. If the temple on Zion is the same symbol, then the members of the cultic establishment also stand for security, refuge, and order. Mowinckel has said that for all Hymns, praise elevates the one being praised, directs the devotee away from self and entirely to the one praised, and always occurs in a group.¹⁶⁴ All of these things place those praising into a role of obedience to the human representations of the praised sign. Brueggemann uses this sort of analysis on Psalm 46.¹⁶⁵ In verses 1–8, the king's power is the same as God's, and therefore ultimate and eternal.¹⁶⁶ This view silences any claim of injustice, and the *relativ-naturliche Weltanschauung* is that society is unblemished and inimitable. No criticism or change is welcome. The call is for more than obedience, "love the cult", says Psalm 122, "love the holiness, love the holy city of Jerusalem."¹⁶⁷

It is a bit unclear in the Zion Hymns as to whether the supported power groups are royal or priestly, hence the tentative use of Davidic traditions. Often the definers and theoreticians of power are not the practitioners of power,¹⁶⁸ and the supporting symbols can therefore be self-contradictory.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, there are multiple overlapping and intersecting power networks.¹⁷⁰ For our purposes it does not matter, since ideological centralism and political centralism are mutually supportive, and "politics and religion were inseparable components in the legitimation of rulership."¹⁷¹

We ought to add that order and security are necessary for any society to even exist. Moreover, "world construction [is] necessarily *world-destruction* as well."¹⁷² The world destroyed in these psalms is a homogenous, uniform one; a world where the Gentiles have no place in the Yahwistic universe. These issues I have treated in other venues. Moreover, the ancient Israelite admittedly "did not simply read messages transmitted down through the social order. He read aggressively, transforming the contents of the material at his disposition into a radically [different] view of the world."¹⁷³ Further

¹⁶⁴ Mowinckel 1982, p. 27.

¹⁶⁵ Brueggemann 1988.

¹⁶⁶ Brueggemann 1988, pp. 110–111.

¹⁶⁷ Schreiner 1963, p. 288.

¹⁶⁸ Ellul 1965, p. 118.

¹⁶⁹ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 18.

¹⁷⁰ Burke 1993, p. 77.

¹⁷¹ Heinz and Feldman 2007, p. 11; see also Burke 1993, p. 82.

¹⁷² Brueggemann 1991, p. 26; italics original; see also Chartier 1998, p. 95.

¹⁷³ Darnton 2001, p. 158; see also Burke 1990, p. 185.

exploration of the diachronic variation in the Zion Hymns might even support Corinna Körting's conclusion that Zion is a "reciprocating center of progressive theology, responding to the requirements of contexts and the challenges of the time."¹⁷⁴

Symbolic universes are normally unintelligible to outsiders.¹⁷⁵ The scholar is apt to misconstrue complex phenomena with synchronic and diachronic differences.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, we can see that the Zion Hymns served in Judean society to provide Yahweh and Zion as symbols of order and security. Because of this, they support the established political and cultic hierarchies as immutable institutions. And this view was reinforced in the minds of the people by narrative and ritual participation.

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¹⁷⁴ Körting 2006, p. 227.

¹⁷⁵ Berger and Luckmann 1967, p. 105.

¹⁷⁶ Altrick 1963, pp. 114–116.

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The Active Predicative Participle in Archaic and Classical Biblical Poetry: A Typological and Historical Investigation

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Abstract

*The article provides a semantic interpretation of sentences with the active predicative participle (APP) in Biblical Hebrew (BH) poetry, suggesting a definition of the category in different text-groups, and tracking the diachronic path for the APP in terms of relative chronology. The corpus is divided into four text-groups, which represent different language types: (1) texts with a genuine archaic null representation of the APP; (2) texts in which the APP is used in a progressive function and reveals transitory features from the archaic to the classical use; (3) texts that witness such common classical uses of the APP as simple present progressive, immediate future, past progressive, and, rarely, iterative-habitual aspect; and (4) texts that reveal apparently late and innovative features of the participle, namely its use as a main habitual and generic category. These language types can be considered as relatively more archaic or relatively more innovative if one takes into account two extra-biblical linguistic corpora, the language of the El-Amarna archive and Mishnaic Hebrew, which serve respectively as the prototypical archaic and post-biblical innovative chronological edges of BH. The data of the prosaic language analysis and of the general linguistic typology are also taken into consideration.**

* This paper is based on selected chapters of my PhD dissertation. I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Steven Fassberg of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for his attention and support. The preliminary draft was read by Edit Doron of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jan Joosten of Strasburg University, and Edward Greenstein of Bar-Ilan University;

Introduction

The status of the predicative participle (PP) in the Biblical Hebrew (BH) verbal system has been controversial. Ewald kept it out of the system of the verbal tenses, which in his view was limited to the forms of prefix and suffix conjugations only.¹ This approach was challenged in the second edition of the magisterial work of S.R. Driver, who ensured the PP a whole chapter in his book, characterising it as an expression of the continuous/durative aspect.² His approach was generally accepted in the scientific literature, and since the late 1980s and early 1990s most scholars have emphasised the importance of an appropriate semantic definition of the PP in its relation to the finite verbal forms.³ In the grammar of Joüon and Muraoka it is claimed that “the participle used as predicate... roughly coincides with the *yiqtol*... the participle expresses the durative aspect more strongly than the *yiqtol* does.”⁴ Waltke and O’Connor also emphasise the semantic closeness to the imperfect, although they also highlight unique characteristics of the participle: “In its workings, the predicate participle approximates the prefix conjugation, but distinguishes itself by emphasizing a durative circumstance and thus by not representing modal/temporal or volitive action, though the ongoing state of affairs may involve repeated action.”⁵ G. Hatav, who investigated the verb in both narrative and direct discourse, defines the participle as progressive aspect,⁶ while J. Joosten, who restricted his research to direct discourse, claims for PP an absolute present tense definition.⁷ Both Hatav and Joosten uphold strictly synchronic approaches and therefore obtain a rather unambiguous, one-facet semantic definition of the PP.

M. Smith, who upholds a diachronic approach and relates the PP to different syntactic environments, represents a more intricate picture; his

I thank them for the fruitful comments. The Hebrew version of the paper was presented in May 2008 at the Colloquium of Semitic Languages in Haifa University. All possible mistakes are my own responsibility.

¹ Ewald 1870, p. 593–603; see also DeCaen 1996, p. 136–137. However Ewald treats the participle as a kind of relative tense. Rosen (1956, p.157) also claimed a binary character of the BH verbal system; cf. Doron 2006.

² Driver 1892, §135: “the participle ... where stress is to be laid on the continuance of the action described;” cf. Joosten 1989, p. 129 n. 6. Some other scholars have laid special emphasis on its tenseless character and on some of its aspectual characteristics (see Joüon 1965, §121; Bergstraesser 1918–1929, §13 e-h).

³ Hoftijzer 1991, pp. 645–647.

⁴ Joüon and Muraoka 2006, §121h.

⁵ Waltke and O’Connor 1990, p. 624.

⁶ Hatav 1997, pp. 89–114.

⁷ Joosten 1989, p. 129.

conclusions can be reduced to two main points: (1) the PP replaces the *yiqtol* conjugation for the simple present tense in pre-exilic and post-exilic discourse and for the past durative in post-exilic narrative; and (2) the PP replaces the *qatal* conjugation in verbs of mental and emotional activity in the present time-frame.⁸ The historical perspective prompts investigation of how the participle turns from the nominal to the verbal category. The topic was broadly confronted in the notable contribution of A. Gordon, who indicated some syntactical and semantic features connected to this process.⁹ Gordon also dealt with the chronological changes in the semantics of the PP.

Although all the above-mentioned definitions are actually concerned with the active participle, most scholars incorporate the passive participle in predicate position into their investigations as well.¹⁰ However, such an approach is hardly justified, since both forms, the active and passive participle, apparently have a distinct position with regard to the system of verbal tenses, especially in what concerns their aspectual meaning. Thus, for example, in the corpus of “archaic” and classical poetry, statements with the predicate passive participle can have static value, parallel to nominal clauses with an adjectival predicate: cf. Num. 24:21 (אֵיתָן מוֹשֶׁבְּךָ וְשִׁים בְּסֻלַּע קִנָּךְ) “Enduring is your dwelling place, and your nest is set in the rock”) or Hos 9:7 (אֵוִיל הַנְּבִיא מְשֻׁנָּע אִישׁ הָרוּחַ) “The prophet is a fool, the man of the spirit is mad”). They can also have resultant or optative value: see Deut. 32:34 (הֲלֹא-הוּא כָּמֶס עִמָּדִי חֲתוּם בְּאוֹצְרוֹתַי) “Is not this laid up in store with me, sealed up in my treasuries?”), Gen. 49:7 (אָרוּר אַפָּם כִּי צוֹ וְעִבְרָתָם) “Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel!”).¹² The passive participle is therefore attested in the corpus of “archaic” poetry, while the active participle is virtually absent in this corpus.

The passive participle in the book of Hosea is more widely used than in the book of Amos. The only case of the passive PP in the book of Amos (כֹּה הִרְאֵנִי וְהִנֵּה אֲדֵנִי נֹצֵב עַל-חֹמַת אֲנִי וּבִידִי אֲנִי) “This is what he showed me: the Lord was standing beside a wall built with a plumb line, with a plumb line in his hand” (Am 7:7)) is not much different from its active counterpart, denoting a situation simultaneous with the reference time. In the book of Hosea the passive PP can have resultant and static value

⁸ M. Smith 1999, pp. 331–332.

⁹ Gordon 1982. See also Dyk (1989 and 1992) on techniques for the identification of different syntactic environments of the participle.

¹⁰ See Joüon and Muraoka 2006, §122; see also Hatav 1997, p. 108.

¹¹ In the translation of biblical passages, the Revised Standard Version is followed, unless different interpretation is suggested.

¹² See also Num. 24:9, Deut. 33:13, 20, 21, 24.

in reference to Speech-Time (S) in Hos 5:11a (עָשׂוֹק אֶפְרַיִם רָצוּץ מִשְׁפָּט) “Ephraim is oppressed, crushed in judgment”), but with a kind of habitual nuance in Hos 13:12 (צָרוּר עֵץ אֶפְרַיִם צְפוּנָה חֲטָאוֹ) “Ephraim’s iniquity is bound up; his sin is kept in store”);¹³ it has resultant and static value in reference to the time, anterior to the S in Hos 6:10b (בְּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל רָאִיתִי שְׁעִירִיָּה (שְׁעִירוּיָה) שָׁם זָנוּת לְאֶפְרַיִם נִטְמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל) “In the house of Israel I have seen a horrible thing; Ephraim’s whoredom is there, Israel is defiled”), or generic value in Hos 6:3 (כְּשֶׁחֵר נֶכּוֹן מֵצֵאוֹ) “his appearing is as sure as the dawn”). Obviously, the semantic value of the passive participle is different from its active counterpart, especially when one compares the active participle and passive participle of Qal.¹⁴ This preliminary insight necessitates a methodological restriction undertaken in this paper: only the active PP (APP) will be investigated and discussed within the context of the BH verbal system.

Until recently, most advances in research were based on the biblical prose corpora. The poetic material was viewed as obscure and therefore excluded from the semantic analysis of verbal tenses by many scholars.¹⁵ However, nowadays we are witness to intensive progress in the linguistic study of BH poetic texts.¹⁶ The present paper is an investigation of the APP in passages tentatively attributed to the archaic poetry (Deut. 32, Judg. 5, Ex 15, Gen. 49, Deut. 33, I Sam. 2) and in the classical prophetic poetry (the books of Amos and Hosea). This study aims at providing a semantic interpretation of the sentences with APP, suggesting their definition in correlation with other verbal tenses in the system (especially, the imperfect (יקטל) in different text-types, and tracking the diachronic path for the APP.

The APP in the poetic corpus can be analysed according to the same principles of semantic analysis as in the prose texts, as long as the discourse conditions and the pragmatic inferences are treated appropriately. The contribution of the poetic data is enormous and cannot be dismissed. The semantic interpretation of the APP in the present corpus will concentrate on its aspectual and temporal meanings; the possible modal implications of the APP will also be treated.¹⁷ The aspectual semantics is given in

¹³ See also Hos 11:7, 12:1

¹⁴ On the so-called active use of passive participle see Blau (1954). On the function of the passive PP in Mishnaic Hebrew, see Sharvit (1980); cf. also Doron (2000).

¹⁵ See Hataav 1997, p. 24: “Poetry often violates otherwise valid linguistic norms”; and Joosten 2002, p. 52: “It is a general rule in research on morphosyntax to take on poetic texts only when the prose rules have been approximately established.”

¹⁶ For a review of research, see Notarius (2005).

¹⁷ On the possible modal uses of the PP, see M. Smith (1999, p. 310).

terms of two-component aspectual theory.¹⁸ The temporal interpretation is carried out in Reichenbachian terms of temporality.¹⁹ The modal meaning is represented in terms of the possible worlds modality and modal operators.²⁰ These sides of the semantic definition are connected to discourse conditions and pragmatic inferences, since in my view the strict semantic analysis of the linguistic data of biblical, particularly poetic, texts is impossible without an adequate discourse representation.²¹ In addition, I will address the historical and typological problems relevant to the diverse and controversial picture that the APP and its verbal semantics reveal in the present corpus.

The terms of historical linguistics are not easily applied to the BH corpus because of the vague chronological framework of the texts. However, I claim that the data can be evaluated in terms of relative chronology and that this approach may provide some fruitful implications concerning the texts' chronology itself. The defined corpus will be divided into four text-groups depending on their use of the APP: (1) texts with a genuine archaic treatment of the active participle; (2) texts that reveal some transitory features from the archaic to the classical use of the APP; (3) texts that witness common classical features of the APP, registered in most reference grammar books and researches; and (4) texts that reveal apparently late and innovative features in comparison to classical uses. In the closing discussion I will tackle the relevance of the presented data to the problems of BH historical linguistics.

Analysis of the Corpus

Texts With a Genuine Archaic Attitude Towards the APP

The active participle in predicate position is practically absent in the main archaic corpus (Song of Moses, Song of Deborah, Blessing of Jacob, and Song of the Sea) and is never used in one of the "classical" verbal uses, namely as present tense, progressive, immediate future, etc.

¹⁸ C. Smith 1997, pp. 1–16.

¹⁹ Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1985, pp., C. Smith 1997, pp. 97–122, Hornstein 1990. On the interpretation of tenses in texts see Kamp and Rohrer (1983).

²⁰ Hatav 1997, pp. 115–126; see also Boneh, Doron 2008, pp. 338–342 and the bibliography there.

²¹ On the principles of discourse analysis of the biblical poetic text, see Notarius (2008, pp. 60–72).

In the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1–43) and in other texts the participle can be used in some non-predicative functions, *e.g.*, as an asyndetic relative phrase, or an actor noun:²²

- (1) Deut. 32:18

צור יִלְדֶּךָ תִּשִׁי וְתִשְׁכַּח אֵל מְחַלְלֶךָ

You were unmindful of the Rock that bore you; you forgot the God who gave you birth.

It is common as a circumstantial, or vocative, phrase, as in the Blessing of Moses:

- (2) Deut. 33:3a

אֵף חֵבֵב עַמִּים כָּל-קָדְשֵׁי בִידְךָ

Indeed, O favorite among peoples, all his holy ones were in your charge

It may also be attributed to the non-existence particle **אֵין**, which in this case is not a negation of PP, but itself an impersonal predicate; the participle, being an actor noun, is used as its complement:

- (3) Deut. 32:39

רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי הוּא אֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי אֲנִי אִמִּית וְאַחִיָּה מִחַצְתִּי וְאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדִי מַצִּיל

See now that I, even I, am he; there is no god besides me. I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal; and no one can deliver from my hand.

²² Cf. also Deut. 33:9. 26; about **לֹא** **תוֹעֶפֶת רָאִם לוֹ** (Num. 23:22, parallel to Num. 24:8); cf. Levine 2000, pp. 184, 197; Milgrom 1990, p. 200. In the Blessing of Jacob there are several cases of the participle phrase in relative and circumstantial functions: **יִשְׁשַׁכַּר חָמַר גֶּרֶם רִבְעָן בֶּן הַמִּשְׁפָּתִים** (Gen. 49:14); **הַנֶּשֶׁךְ עֲקֵבֵי-סוּס וַיִּפֹּל רָכְבוֹ אַחֲוִיר** (Gen. 49:17b); **נִפְתָּלִי אֱלֹהֶה שְׁלָחָה הִנָּחֵן אִמְרֵי-שֹׁפָר** (Gen. 49:21). Interestingly, the participial phrase is a nominal use of the participle, mostly comparable to its verbal use. According to Gordon, the verbal use of the participle was shaped through syntactic and semantic constraints (leaving the morphological outlet practically unchanged). In general, the participial phrase is a syntactically embedded category and it functions as nominal attribute, verbal complement, or adjunct. It can attach direct objects and marks the semantic shift from an agent to an action itself, keeping, nevertheless, the aspectual viewpoint and temporal relation unexpressed. In this sense we might see the participial phrase as a prototypic context for its verbal use. The detailed path of the participle verbal use formation will be beyond the scope of our discussion, since the poetic material does not contain enough material for generalisations. On the distribution of predicative, attributive, and nominal uses of the participle in BH, see Muraoka (1999, pp. 190–194).

In the Song of the Sea there is a dubious case:

(4) Exod. 15:6

יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה נֹאדָרִי בַכֹּחַ יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה תִּרְעֵץ אוֹיֵב

Your right hand, O LORD, glorious in power — your right hand,
O LORD, shattered the enemy.

If the word נֹאדָרִי is a participle, its most probable syntactic function is in apposition to the vocative יְהוָה;²³ cf. also another appositional participle in Ex 15:11. However, Cross and Freedman, following Albright and Moran, claim that this is an absolute infinitive.²⁴ The case is not a good example of the APP, not to forget that it is derived in the passive stem.

We find a similar use in the Blessing of Jacob:

(5) Gen. 49:11

אֶסְרִי לִנְפֹךְ עֵירָה (עִירוֹ) וְלִשְׂרָקָה בְּנֵי אֶתְנֹו כֶּבֶס בֵּין לִבְשׁוֹ וּבְדָם-עֲנָבִים סוּתָה (סוּתוֹ)

Binding his foal to the vine and his donkey's colt to the choice vine,
he washes his garments in wine and his robe in the blood of grapes

This case raises similar morphological questions:²⁵ it might be either a participle²⁶ or an absolute infinitive.²⁷ Syntactically it is either a predicate with a gapped subject,²⁸ which would be rare with a nominal category, or a circumstantial phrase.²⁹ Semantically, the present passage is not straightforward: its interpretation varies from past narrative,³⁰ to generic,³¹ or optative.³² Anyway, the case cannot serve as a good example of the APP.

The relative lack of APP in the sizeable corpus of the “archaic” poetry dovetails with the overt use of the imperfect יִקְטֹל in all classical functions of the active participle: simple present (Deut. 32:40, Num. 23:9, Ju 6:30), historical

²³ Thus Gesenius 1902, §901; see also Ehrlich 1908, p. 320; Houtman 1996, p. 242; or Propp 1999, p. 518. Most dictionaries treat this word as a participle. About *hireq compaginis* see Waltke and O'Connor (1990, p. 128).

²⁴ Cross and Freedman 1955, p. 245; see also Moran 1961, p. 63.

²⁵ On *hiriq compaginis* see Waltke and O'Connor (1990, pp. 127–128); on the broken construct state see Brockelmann (1957, §70f).

²⁶ See Gesenius 1902, §116x; cf. also De Hoop 1999, p. 144 n. 367.

²⁷ See Moran 1961, p. 60.

²⁸ Cf. De Hoop 1999, p. 144.

²⁹ Thus Gesenius 1902, §118p

³⁰ See Moran 1961, p. 63.

³¹ Thus according to most translations.

³² Thus De Hoop 1999, pp. 143–144, for whom the whole text of the Blessing of Jacob is a future prediction.

present (Ex 15:16–17, Judg. 5:26. 29), progressive aspect and circumstantial action (Deut. 32:10.12, Ex 15:14–15), and immediate future (Num. 23:23).³³

The Transition from Archaic to Classical State

In the Oracles of Balaam the active participle is used once in the progressive aspect in a future time reference:

(6) Num. 24:18

וְהָיָה אֱדוֹם יְרֵשָׁה וְהָיָה יִרְשָׁה שְׁעִיר אֹיְבָיו וְיִשְׂרָאֵל עֹשֶׂה חֵיל

Edom will become a possession, Seir a possession of its enemies, while Israel does valiantly.

The predicate participle stays in a circumstantial or contrastive clause, introduced by the conjunction *waw*. Although the clauses are coordinated on a surface level, the second clause, containing the participle, is an embedded one, as it is implied by the relationship between the two statements: Edom will be conquered, while Israel fights courageously. The form of the participle עֹשֶׂה introduces an unbounded dynamic event, given from an imperfective viewpoint. Its Event Time (E_2) is simultaneous with the Reference Time (R); R overlaps with E_1 (וְהָיָה יִרְשָׁה) and is posterior to the Speech- Time (S).³⁴ The passage can be mapped as follows:

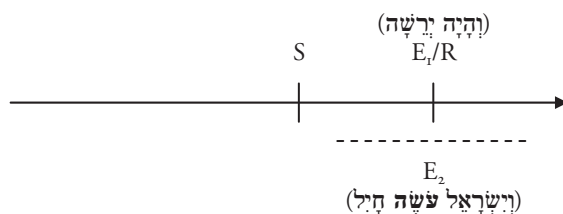


Figure 1

Interestingly, the imperfect יִקְטֹל is used in the Oracles of Balaam in all other imperfective and present-future statements (as simple present, historical present, immediate future, simple future, and habitual aspect), leaving for the participle the realm of the progressive aspect only.³⁵ The position of

³³ The conclusion is based on a detailed investigation of the imperfect in the “archaic” corpora; see Notarius 2007, §§6.4, 7.4, 8.3, 9.5.1.

³⁴ On how events become the R for the next event in the narrative, see Kamp and Reyle (1993, ch. 5 and references there).

³⁵ See Notarius 2008, pp. 78–80

the APP in this text and the relation of this language type to the “archaic” and “classical” language types enable us to interpret this text as being relatively later than the “archaic” ones and older than the “classical” ones. The full treatment of the data in terms of relative chronology will be carried out in the closing discussion.

The APP in Classical Prophetic Poetry (the Books of Amos and Hosea)

The APP in the Book of Amos

The APP in the book of Amos is used 14 times,³⁶ as a rule in a non-initial position, with the exception of Am 6:8.³⁷ Its most common position is in the main clause after הנה (eleven cases);³⁸ once it occurs in a subordinated clause (Am 5:1).

The APP can appear in different discourse conditions and these conditions contribute to its semantic interpretation. In prose conversation, unambiguously connected to S, the APP functions as a category of simple present progressive, marking an unbounded imperfective event, ongoing at the S:

(7) Amos 7:8b

הֲנִי שֵׁם אֶנֶךָ בְּקֶרֶב עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא-אוֹסִיף עוֹד עֲבוֹר לִי

See, I am setting a plumb line in the midst of my people Israel; I will never again pass them by

(7a) Amos 7:16

וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע דְּבַר-יְהוָה אֵתָּה אִמֵּר לֹא תִנְבֵּא עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא תִטֵּן עַל-בֵּית יִשָּׁחָק

Now therefore hear the word of the LORD. You say, ‘Do not prophesy against Israel, and do not preach against the house of Isaac.’

³⁶ The numerous participial phrases in relative, circumstantial, and vocative functions are beyond the scope of this investigation (see Reventlow 1996, pp. 376–378).

³⁷ The data are insufficient for drawing a conclusion about the semantic and pragmatic nuances of the APP in correlation to its position in the clause; cf. Joosten (1989, p. 130), who claims an aspectual motivation for the APP position in clause. However, the data do not contradict his theory: the only case of the APP in an initial position has rather static and not progressive value.

³⁸ הנה(ו) is a deictic particle with a wide range of uses. In the cases under discussion it indicates the personal viewpoint and the R point; on הנה as pointing to the temporal proximity cf. Merwe (2007, p. 127); see also Driver (1892, §) 135. The syntactical dependency of the APP on הנה(ו) is striking: the participle is still not a head verbal form in the sentence and is represented in relation to an external reference point.

In both these cases the APP denotes an action that is ongoing at the moment of speech: in example (7) the Lord is holding $\text{?}^a n\bar{a}k$ in the vision, therefore in the moment of speech. In example (7a) there is an immediate replicas exchange; the form **אָמַר** represents the speech as ongoing at the moment of the answer. See also Am 7:8a and Am 8:2. Example (7a) can be mapped as follows:

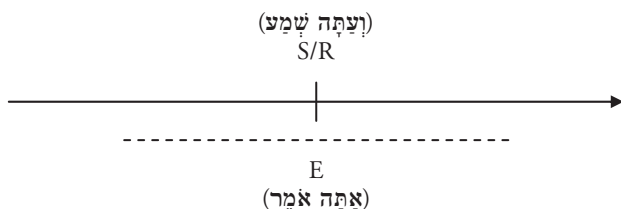


Figure 2

The simple present tense definition of the APP is possible in other discourse conditions as well. In poetic prophetic speech the S reference is implied by the speech act of swearing (*cf.* the illocutive verb **נִשְׁבַּע** “(he) swears”) and is additionally marked by the divine speech formula **נָאִם יְהוָה**; the utterance describes an unbounded situation, simultaneous with S:

(8) Amos 6:8

נִשְׁבַּע אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה בְּנַפְשׁוֹ נָאִם-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת מִתְאַבֵּב אֶנְכִּי אֶת-גִּּאֹן יַעֲקֹב
וְאֶרְמֹנָתָיו שְׁנֵאתִי וְהִסְגֵּרְתִּי עִיר וּמְלָאָהּ

The Lord GOD has sworn by himself (says the LORD, the God of hosts): I abhor the pride of Jacob and hate his strongholds; and I will deliver up the city and all that is in it.

In Amos 5:1 the participle **נֹשֵׂא** has a simple present tense definition as well. The reference to S is marked by the imperative of the perception verb **שָׁמְעוּ**. The ongoing character of the action **נֹשֵׂא קִינָה** “(am) pronouncing a lamentation” is emphasized by the perlocutive force of the utterance: the words of lamentation/*qinah* over the Daughter of Zion are pronounced by the prophet right now in the succeeding verse:

(9) Amos 5:1

שָׁמְעוּ אֶת-הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֶנְכִּי נֹשֵׂא עֲלֵיכֶם קִינָה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל

Hear this word that I take up over you in lamentation, O house of Israel

Therefore, the discourse conditions in the poetic prophetic speech can be quite close to those of the prose conversation, and the default meaning of the participle will cover an unbounded ongoing event/situation, simultaneous with S and given within the imperfective viewpoint, while the reference to S is encoded by prophetic speech formulas (*cf.* also הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי, Amos 2:13, נֹשֶׁבַע אֲדֹנִי, Amos 4:2, or modal כִּי in Amos 6:11 below). However, in the poetic prophetic speech there is an additional pragmatic nuance — a common orientation of the speech to future,³⁹ and it can contribute a nuance of immediate future with a present progressive saying. Since the present progressive is an unbounded event, which is not included in R, but embraces it, the event may continue after S, by obtaining an additional posterior reference:⁴⁰

(10) Amos 2:13

הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי מַעִיֵּק תַּחְתִּיכֶם כְּאֲשֹׁר תַּעִיֵּק הָעֲנָלָה הַמְלֵאָה לָּהּ עֲמִיר

So, I will press you down in your place, just as a cart presses down when it is full of sheaves.

(10a) Amos 4:2

נֹשֶׁבַע אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה בִּקְדָּשׁוֹ כִּי הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים עֲלֵיכֶם וְנִשָּׂא אֶתְכֶם בְּצִנּוֹת
וְאַחֲרֵיתְכֶן בְּסִירוֹת דּוֹגָה

The Lord GOD has sworn by his holiness: The time is surely coming upon you, when they shall take you away with hooks, even the last of you with fishhooks.

(10b) Amos 6:11

כִּי-הִנֵּה יְהוָה מַצֵּנָה וְהָכָה הַבַּיִת הַגָּדוֹל רְסִיסִים וְהַבַּיִת הַקָּטָן בְּקַעֲסִים

See, the LORD commands, and the great house shall be shattered to bits, and the little house to pieces.

(10c) Amos 6:14

כִּי הִנֵּנִי מְקִים עֲלֵיכֶם בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת גּוֹי וְלִחְצוֹ אֶתְכֶם
מִלְּבוֹא חֶמֶת עַד-נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה

Indeed, I am raising up against you a nation, O house of Israel, says the LORD, the God of hosts, and they shall oppress you from Lebohamath to the Wadi Arabah.

³⁹ I am far from defining the prophetic speech as prediction of the future (on the definition of the prophetic speech see Nissinen (2004)), but still in the biblical prophetic speech the basic orientation to future is encoded by statistically frequent temporal phrases, as הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים, בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, *etc.* Moreover, the speech acts of warning, threat, accusation, curse, blessing, and others, which shape the illocutive force of the prophetic speech, presuppose by their temporal structure the reference to the closest or remote future, see, *e.g.*, Wagner (1997); Houston (1993).

⁴⁰ See Bybee *et al.* (1994, pp. 275–278) concerning the typological connection between present progressive and immediate future, as in English “I am coming” or in Russian “Я иду”.

See also Amos 8:11; 9:9; and 9:13. The temporal-aspectual structure of (10) can be mapped in the following way.

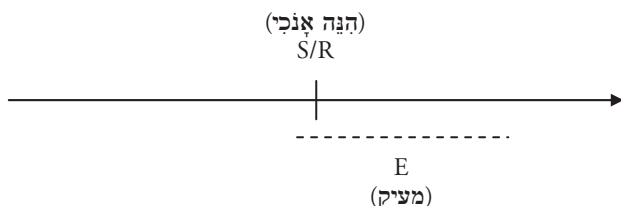


Figure 3

In some of the examples above the practical division between the present progressive tense and the immediate future meaning is not clear-cut.

In the personal prophetic report about visions, rendered in prose style, the APP functions as an unbounded event, given from an imperfective viewpoint, simultaneous with R (given by הִרְאֵנִי), which is anterior to S (indicated by the deictic כֹּה), a kind of past progressive:

(II) Amos 7:1

כֹּה הִרְאֵנִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וְהִנֵּה יוֹצֵר גִּבִּי בְּתַחֲלֵת עֲלֹת הַלֶּקֶשׁ וְהִנֵּה-לֶקֶשׁ אַחֲרַי גִּבִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ

This is what the Lord GOD showed me: he was forming locusts at the time the latter growth began to sprout (it was the latter growth after the king's mowings).

(IIa) Amos 7:4

כֹּה הִרְאֵנִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וְהִנֵּה קֹרֵא לָרֹב בָּאֵשׁ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וְתֹאכַל אֶת-תְּהוֹם רֹבָה וְאָכְלָה אֶת-הַחֲלָק

This is what the Lord GOD showed me: the Lord GOD was calling for a shower of fire, and it devoured the great deep and was eating up the land.

(II) Example can be mapped as follows:

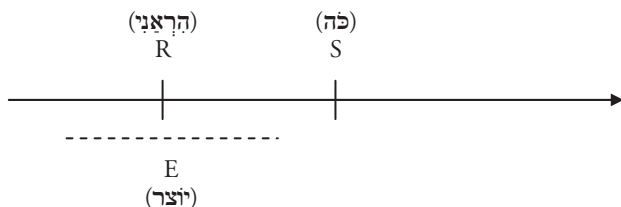


Figure 4

Overall, the APP is not the most common verbal category in the book of Amos and its syntactical environment is almost exclusively limited to one syntagm type, (ו)הנה with a participle. Three main semantic values that have been found in this text — simple present tense, immediate future, and past progressive — indicate that this form functions as a category of progressive aspect, namely indicating an unbounded event or situation (not included in the temporal point/interval, but vice versa embracing it), given from an imperfective viewpoint, and ongoing at R. The temporal location depends upon the discourse conditions and covers the realms of the simple present tense, immediate future tense, and past progressive tense, leaving no space for other verbal forms in these functions.⁴¹ Such semantic definition brings the APP in the book of Amos into close correspondence to the BH verbal system as it is attested in classical prose.⁴² However, the APP in the book of Amos is not attested as a form of habitual or iterative aspect, leaving this semantic realm to the imperfect יקטל.

The APP in the Book of Hosea

In the book of Hosea⁴³ the APP is attested 13 times and stays as a rule in a non-initial position in the clause.⁴⁴ Its simple present tense definition is not as straightforward as in the book of Amos, because the S reference is not so explicit in context. However, the simple present tense definition is to be detected in the following examples, mainly due to the first-person elements in the context (אֱלֹהֵי in (12); סִבְבֵּנִי in (12a)), which mark the speaker's perspective and imply the S reference:

(12) Hos 9:8

צִפָּה אֶפְרַיִם עִם-אֱלֹהֵי נְבִיא פֶּחַ יְקוֹשׁ עַל-כָּל-דֶּרֶכָיו מִשְׁטֶמָּה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵיו⁴⁵

Ephraim stands in confrontation with my God: a prophet, a fowler's snare is on all his paths and in the House of his God is nothing but enmity.

⁴¹ Stative perfect can be used for present tense statements, but not in the imperfective progressive meaning. The imperfect יקטל is not used in one of the above-mentioned functions.

⁴² See Hatav 1997, pp. 89–114 and notes above.

⁴³ One might notice some questionable cases: כִּי הוּא בֶן אָחִים יִפְרִיא יְבוֹא קָדִים רוּחַ יְהוָה (Hos 13:5) is not a PP, but an attributive one; see Macintosh 1997, p. 550. The form שֶׁת in Hos 6:11 (נָם-יְהוּדָה שֶׁת קָצִיר לָךְ) is unclear; many commentaries treat it as a later Judean gloss. It is either perfect tense in 1S (> שֶׁת), or in 3S, or passive participle (שֶׁת), or active participle (the subject is gapped) for immediate future. Such dubious cases are excluded from the semantic analysis and statistics.

⁴⁴ But see Hos 9:8. Interestingly, the passive participle stays as a rule in the initial position (Hos 5:11, 6:3, 6:10, 9:7, 13:12), except Hos 11:7, 12:1.

⁴⁵ The passage is difficult, the translation of Macintosh 1997, p. 354, who follows Ibn-Janah, is preferred.

(12a) Hos 12:1

סָבְבֵנִי בְכַחַשׁ אֶפְרַיִם וּבִמְרֻמָּה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהוּדָה עַד רֶדֶד⁴⁶ עִם-אֵל וְעִם-
קְדוֹשִׁים נֶאֱמָן

Ephraim has surrounded me with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit; but Judah still walks with God, and is faithful to the Holy One.

In example (12a) an element of progressive action is encoded by means of the adverbial **עַד** and through the contrast with the passive/stative **נֶאֱמָן**. The mapping of the examples would be close to that of (fig. 2) above.

In the following examples the APP is used in sayings with **הִנֵּה**. The simple present progressive definition correlates with the meaning of immediate future, like in the book of Amos (see (fig. 3) above):

(13) Hos 2:8

לִכֵּן הִנֵּנִי-שׁוֹךְ אֶת-דֶּרֶכָּךְ בְּסִירִים וְנִדְרֹתַי אֶת-גִּדְרָהּ וְנִמְיבּוֹתֶיהָ לֹא תִמְצָא

Therefore I am hedging up/will hedge up her way with thorns; and I will build a wall against her, so that she cannot find her paths.

(13a) Hos. 2:16

לִכֵּן הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי מַפְתִּיחַ וְהִלַּכְתִּיהָ הַמִּדְבָּר וְדִבַּרְתִּי עַל-לִבָּהּ

Therefore, I allure/will now allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her.

The APP is attested in a fragment, which, according to most commentators, is a retrospective prophetic report about a concrete historical event, the rebellion of Peqah.⁴⁷ R in the simple past is given by the phrase **יּוֹם מִלְכּוֹנִי**. Under such discourse conditions the APP (**בְּעֵר**, **מְנַאֲפִים**) expresses the past progressive (or historical present?), encoded also by the adverb **כָּל-הַיְּלִילָה**. The participle interchanges with the perfect forms **הִחֲלֹו**, **מָשַׁךְ**, **קָרְבוּ**, which mark the advance of the story line; the form **יָשָׁן** is ambiguous but should be taken as a stative adjective used as a participle; the forms of the imperfect in context (**יִשְׁמְחוּ**, **יִשְׁבּוּת**) should be taken as habituals:

⁴⁶ According to Macintosh 1997, pp. 473–474, the word **רֶדֶד** is to be derived from the root **רד** I “to seek mastery”. See Köhler and Baumgartner (1994–2000, p. 1194) for other solutions: “to be restive” or “to roam, go about” (cf. Jer 2:31).

⁴⁷ See Macintosh 1997, p. 257. In general, Hos 7:3–7 is rather obscure. I follow the translation of Macintosh.

(14) Hos 7:3–6

בְּרָעָתָם יִשְׁמְחוּ-מִלֶּךְ וּבְכַחֲשֵׁיהֶם שָׂרִים. כָּלֶם מִנְאָפִים כְּמוֹ תַנּוּר בַּעֲרָה מֵאִפָּה
יִשְׁבּוֹת מֵעִיר מְלוּשׁ בִּצֶק עַד-הִמָּצְתוֹ. יוֹם מִלְכָּנוּ הִחֲלוּ שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיָּין מִשֶּׁה
יָדוּ אֶת-לִצְצִים. כִּי-קָרְבוּ כְּתַנּוּר לָבֶם בְּאָרְבָם כָּל-הַלֵּילָה יֵשֶׁן אִפְּהָם בֶּקֶר הוּא
בַּעַר כָּאֵשׁ לְהִבָּה

By their wickedness they promote the rise of a king, and the princes by their treachery. All of them were treacherous, like an oven heated by a baker who can cease stoking it from the kneading of the dough until it is leavened. On the day of our king, when the princes were sick with the heat of wine, he deployed the conspirators with a signal. For in their conspiracy they made ready their resolve like an oven. Their baker was sleeping all the night. In the morning it was burning as a blazing fire.

However, the APP in the prophetic poetic speech in the book of Hosea can have some additional nuances. Consider the following examples:

(15) Hos 4:15

אִם-זֹנֶה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵל-יְאֹשֶׁם יְהוּדָה וְאֵל-תְּבֹאוּ הַגִּלְגָל וְאֵל-תַּעֲלוּ בֵּית אֲזָנָן
וְאֵל-תִּשָּׁבְעוּ חֵי-יְהוָה

Though you play the whore, O Israel, do not let Judah become guilty. Do not enter into Gilgal, or go up to Beth-aven, and do not swear, “As the LORD lives.”

(15a) Hos 12:2

אֶפְרַיִם רֹעֶה רוּחַ וּרְדָף קָדִים כָּל-הַיּוֹם כְּזָב וְשׁוֹד יִרְבֶּה וּבְרִית עִם-אֲשׁוּר יִכְרֹתוּ
וְשֹׁמֵן לְמִצְרַיִם יוֹבֵל

Ephraim herds the wind, and pursues the east wind; all day long they multiply falsehood and violence; they make a treaty with Assyria, and oil is carried to Egypt.

(15b) Hos 9:17

יִמְאָסֵם אֱלֹהֵי כִי לֹא שָׁמְעוּ לוֹ וַיְהִי נִדְדִים בְּגוֹיִם

Because they have not listened to him, let my God reject them; and let them wander among the nations.

(15c) Hos 13:2

וַעֲתָה יוֹסֶפוּ לַחֲטֹא וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מִסַּכָּה מִכֶּסֶּפֶם כְּתִבּוּנָם עֲצָבִים מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשִׁים
כִּלְה לָהֶם הֵם אֲמָרִים זִבְחֵי אָדָם עֲגֻלִּים יִשְׁקִין

And now they keep on sinning and make a cast image for themselves, idols of silver made according to their understanding, all of them the work of artisans. To them they are speaking, sacrificing man, they kiss calves.

In these examples the basic reference to S is preserved and is indicated in the context: (the jussive forms אַל-יֵאָשֶׁם in (15) and יִמָּאֲסֵם in (15b) imply S by their temporal structure, the adverb וְעַתָּה in (15c) is also diagnostic; for an S reference in the closest context in (15b) cf. (12a) above. The basic aspectual meaning is nevertheless different: in (15) and (15c) the progressive definition (an event is ongoing at R, either point or interval, simultaneous with S) is still at work, but it intervenes with an iterative definition (R is extended to an interval and the event turns from an ongoing one into an event repeated on a regular basis at R, namely into an iterative).⁴⁸ Therefore, the duration of the event in progressives turns into the duration of the R-span in iteratives, while the event itself is multiplied and requires iteration: the event can repeat itself at any point of R and, as it is given from the imperfective viewpoint, at any point before or after it. Example (15c) is mapped in (fig. 5):

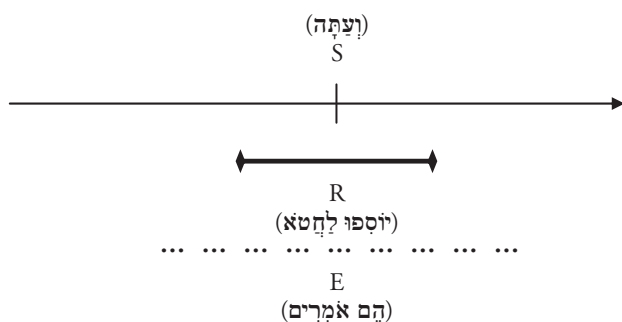


Figure 5

In (15b) an iterative definition is quite clear-cut. The APP is part of the periphrastic construction with the verb הָיָה . The active participle marks an iterative event, which overlaps with R, marked by the jussive form וְיִהְיֶה as posterior to S; see (fig. 6) (the modal meaning of the jussive, being part of a malediction saying, is ignored in the mapping):

⁴⁸ While the definition of the progressive aspectual meaning is quite unambiguous in the scholarly discourse (see Hatav 1997, p. 90), the habitual, repetitive-iterative, and frequentative meanings differ within different approaches: see Comrie 1976, pp. 26–29; Bybee *et al.* 1994, pp. 151–174; C. Smith 1997, p. 50; Boneh and Doron 2008; and Xrakovskij 1997. In this paper, following Xrakovskij (1997), I define an iterative meaning as a multiplied event, while a habitual meaning is taken as a modal of possible and expected event (cf. Hatav 1997, p. 90; Boneh and Doron 2008).

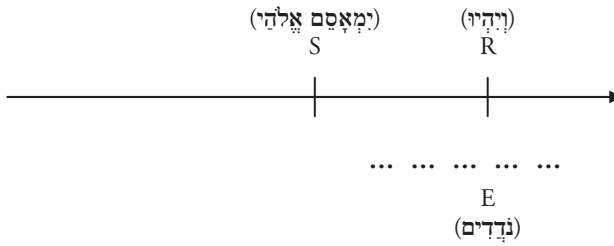


Figure 6

In (15a) the event seems to have a habitual nuance. With respect to the terms adopted here, it means not only that the event is taken as repeated on a regular basis at an extended R-span, but also that an additional modal operator is at work: an event is possible and expected. The adverbial *כָּל-הַיּוֹם* in the closest context contributes to the basic imperfective meaning, but it is applied to another event (*יִרְבֶּה*) and is excluded from the mapping. The clauses *אֶפְרַיִם רָעָה רִיחַ וְיִזְרְהֵל קָדִים*, however, are to be taken as mere possibilities associated with an extended R-span, behavior patterns of Israel, as the prophet sees them.⁴⁹ The involvement of the modal operator “As a rule →” in this habitual statement can be represented as follows:⁵⁰

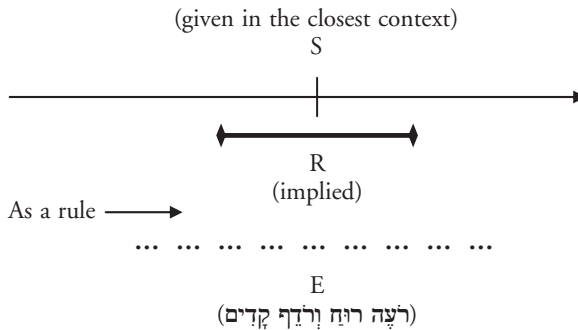


Figure 7

A single example of the APP in the prose conversation represents a present (or past?) progressive definition, although the habitual-iterative meaning is

⁴⁹ The saying can be taken as habitual-generic, since it characterises the agent; on genericity see Krifka 1995.

⁵⁰ On the modal operators in habituais see Boneh and Doron (2008, p. 334).

plausible in this context as well: the infinitive phrase **כְּאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** defines R in context (either simultaneous with S, or anterior to it) and the participle clause (**וְהֵם פְּנִים**) gives an unbounded action simultaneous with R:

(16) Hos 3:1

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי עוֹד לְךָ אֶהֱבֶה אִשָּׁה אֲהַבַת רָע וּמִנְאָפֶת כְּאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהֵם פְּנִים אֶל-אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וְאֶהְיֶה אֲשֵׁישֵׁי עֵנָבִים

The LORD said to me again, "Go, love a woman who has a lover and is an adulteress, just as the LORD loves the people of Israel, though they turn to other gods and love raisin cakes."

Although in some of the above-mentioned cases the practical delimitation between the present progressive and the present habitual-iterative meanings is not unambiguously marked, such that probably both connotations are involved, the shift in the imperfective semantics of the APP is striking: from the straightforward progressive meaning (12a) through cases where the progressive semantics is less clear-cut and other imperfective connotations are involved (15, 15c, and 16) to cases with the habitual-iterative (15b) and habitual-generic (15a) values.

Therefore, the APP in the book of Hosea may function as a simple present (progressive) tense and as an immediate future tense, comparable to its use in the book of Amos; in one passage it seems to be attested in the past progressive tense. In addition, some cases reflect a significant shift in verbal semantics of the APP: from the simple present and progressive category the participle develops into a category of an iterative and habitual aspect, even with a generic connotation. In a function of the iterative the participle can be used within a periphrastic construction with the verb **הָיָה**. However, it is noteworthy that the APP does not entirely cover the semantics of the habitual and iterative aspect; the main verbal form in this function in the book of Hosea will still be the imperfect **יִקְטֹל**.⁵¹

The APP in Classical Prophetic Poetry of the Book of Amos and Hosea: Conclusion

The use of the active PP in classical prophetic poetry in the books of Amos and Hosea is summarised in table 1:

⁵¹ On the use of the imperfect **יִקְטֹל** in the book of Hosea see Notarius (2007, § 17).

	Book of Amos	Book of Hosea
<i>Simple present progressive</i>	+	+
<i>Immediate future</i>	+	+
<i>Progressive past</i>	+	+
<i>Iterative and habitual present</i>	—	+
<i>Periphrastic construction with הִיהַ⁵²</i>	—	+

Table 1: The APP in Classical Prophetic Poetry (Amos and Hosea)

These data, when taken seriously and not simply as sporadic cases, point to a significant difference in the linguistic norms reflected in these two books. On the one hand both books are rather close to the norm of classical biblical prose: the active participle in predicate position functions in the progressive aspect, simple present tense, and immediate future. On the other hand, the book of Hosea reveals some specific features which are lacking in the book of Amos: the iterative and habitual value of the APP suggest a relative innovation in terms of linguistic typology.

Some Late and Innovative Uses Attested in Part of the “Archaic” Corpus

The idea that the iterative and habitual meaning of the APP is an innovative phenomenon, typical for late BH, is supported by investigations into prose language.⁵³ However, a problem arises when these apparently innovative uses appear in part of the so-called archaic corpus. Thus in the second part of the Song of Hannah (I Sam. 2:6–10) the participle functions as a category of the habitual-generic aspect:⁵⁴

⁵² The periphrastic use of the APP with הִיהַ is attested only twice in the present corpora, once in Hos 9:17 and once in Deut. 33:24 (see below). The data are obviously too insufficient to draw any generalisations; cf. the discussion and references in Muraoka (1999, pp. 194–201).

⁵³ As M. Smith 1999 has already noticed; see also Joosten 2005, p. 334: “in Classical Biblical Hebrew, a predicative participle in a past-tense context almost always expresses concomitance; in Late Biblical Hebrew, the predicative participle is regularly used in narrative to express repeated or habitual processes”; see also a remark in Eskhult (2005, p. 363). Hatav (1997, p. 109) claimed that in the classical biblical prose only 4 per cent of the PP can be classified as habituais, while according to Cohen (2008, p. 123) more than 44 per cent of the PP express habitual and iterative semantics.

⁵⁴ In the first part (I Sam. 2:2–5) the perfect was used as a generic category; see Notarius 2007, §12.4.

(17) I Sam. 2:6–8

יְהוָה מָמִית וּמַחְיֶה מוֹרִיד שְׂאוֹל וַיַּעַל. יְהוָה מוֹרִישׁ וּמַעֲשִׂיר מְשָׁפִיל אֶף-
מְרוֹמָם. מְקִים מַעֲפָר דָּל מְאֻשֶּׁפֶת יָרִים אֶבְיוֹן לְהוֹשִׁיב עַם-נְדִיבִים וְכֶסֶף כְּבוֹד
יִנְחֹלָם כִּי לַיהוָה מִצְקֵי אֶרֶץ וַיָּשֶׂת עֲלֵיהֶם תְּבֵל

The LORD kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up. The LORD makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts. He raises up the poor from the dust; he lifts the needy from the ash heap, to make them sit with princes and inherit a seat of honor. For the pillars of the earth are the LORD's, and on them he has set the world.

Interestingly, the APP in the habitual aspect is parallel to יָרִים (יקטל), וַיַּעַל (ויקטל), and to the infinitive construct לְהוֹשִׁיב in seemingly the same function.⁵⁵ However, the participle prevails and is used eight times as the head verbal form in the clause in both initial and non-initial position, introducing generic statements. The events and situations are given from an imperfective viewpoint; they may be repeated on a regular basis over an extended period of time. The modal operator “As a rule →”, introducing a habitual saying, is at work. In my view, these statements are different from the habitual-generic, identified in the book of Hosea (see (15a)). If the statement in (15a) is given from the S standpoint, (17) is not explicitly associated with S, nor with any other R. The loss of R in the context is typical for some types of hymnal poetic speech:⁵⁶

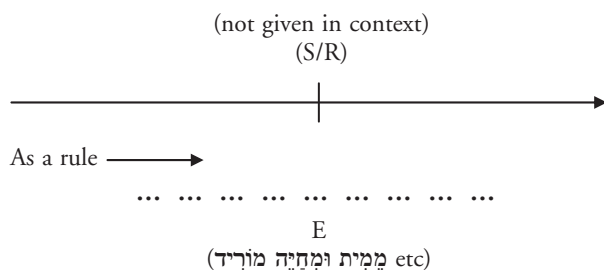


Figure 8

⁵⁵ On יָרִים in habitual statements see Gesenius (1902, § 111u) and Joüon and Muraoka (2006, § 118r). On יָרִים in this passage see Joüon and Muraoka (2006, p. §121h n. 1): “the participle and the yiqtol may be used indiscriminately.” On the infinitive לְקַטֹּל in the functions of the imperfect יָרִים see Krahmalkov (1987); Cohen (2008) claims that it is a LBH phenomenon.

⁵⁶ Notarius 2007, §§3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.

The position of the APP in the Blessing of Moses is less obvious. Consider the following example:

(18) Deut. 33:12

יְדִיד יְהוָה יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֶטֶח עָלָיו חֲפָף עָלָיו כָּל-הַיּוֹם וּבֵין כְּתָפָיו שָׁכֵן

The beloved of the LORD rests in safety — the High God surrounds him all day long — and he rests between his shoulders.

The form חֲפָף is ambiguous both morphologically and syntactically. Also the transmission history is complicated: 4QDeut⁵⁷ reads יְדִיד יְהוָה יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֶטֶח אֵל מְחוּפָּף עַל-יְדֵי. The Qumran version, which is also supported by the Septuagint rendering, has the form of the APP in the *polet* conjugation with אֵל “God” as an explicit subject; the semantic value of the saying would be habitual. The form חֲפָף in the Masoretic text can be either perfect *polet* or participle *qal* of the same root חֲפָף; taken as a participle the form can be either predicative, or serve attributively. If חֲפָף is a case of the APP, it can be interpreted either as progressive circumstantial or as habitual.

The APP is attested one more time in the Blessing of Moses:

(19) Deut. 33:24

בְּרוּךְ מִבְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יְהִי רְצוֹי אָחָיו וְטָבַל בְּשֶׁמֶן רִגְלוֹ

Most blessed of sons be Asher; may he be the favorite of his brothers, and may he dip his foot in oil.

The active participle טָבַל is part of the periphrastic construction with the verb הִיהָ in the jussive and is parallel to the passive participle (רְצוֹי אָחָיו); the active participle marks the iterative-habitual meaning, while the jussive form introduces the modal meaning of the saying. The syntactic and semantic structure of the saying are very similar to a case from the book of Hosea (see (15b) and (Fig. 6) above).

Discussion: the App in the Mirror of the Poetic Corpus

The analysis of the APP in the corpora of “archaic” and classical biblical poetry illustrates several important assumptions: (1) the verbal tenses in poetic texts are to be analysed according to the universal principles of semantic and pragmatic analysis; (2) the specific discourse conditions of the poetic text are to be taken into account; and (3) the data are relevant for the typological and historical investigation of the BH verbal system. Since I

⁵⁷ Christensen (2002, p. 843) translates: “God protects him ever.”

have considered the first two assumptions elsewhere,⁵⁸ the relevance of the present data for BH historical linguistics deserves deeper consideration here.

The Hebrew Bible in its Masoretic transmission is still the main corpus for research of ancient Hebrew. The problem is that the terms of historical linguistics are not easily applied to this corpus, because of its questionable chronological frame and a complicated transmission history. Scholars have revealed quite a high level of linguistic diversity in the prose texts, but no solid consensus concerning this diversity exists.⁵⁹ Moreover, the poetic texts reveal a very complicated and controversial pattern of language use, and the predicate participle is only one, albeit typical, detail in the general picture.⁶⁰ It is obvious that there are different language types as far as participle use is concerned. The question is how to define the relation between these language types.

It is possible to define the difference between these language types in terms of relative chronology. Some language types should be defined as relatively more archaic and some as relatively more innovative. Such a consideration is possible when we take into account two extra-biblical language types, the language of El-Amarna archive on the one hand and Mishnaic Hebrew on the other, which respectively serve as the prototypical archaic and post-biblical innovative chronological borders of BH.

With these two external boundaries in mind and also in conjunction with the prose language data on the one hand and general linguistic typology on the other, one can suggest the present data evaluation in terms of relative chronology. The language of El-Amarna did not know the APP use.⁶¹ In this sense the main part of the so-called archaic poetry reflects the same archaic language type (thus the Song of Moses, the Song of Deborah, the Blessing of Jacob, and the Song of the Sea). The innovative process started when the active participle became a predicated category and acquired an aspectual meaning of progressive action, namely of an ongoing event that embraces R (thus in the Oracles of Balaam). This process generated the situation in which the APP started to be used as an exclusive category of the

⁵⁸ Notarius 2008, pp. 60–61.

⁵⁹ For the recent discussion see Young (2003); see also the review of Zewi (2004). *Hebrew Studies* 46 published symposium papers on the topic: “Can Biblical Texts be Dated Linguistically?”; see Joosten (2005); Young (2005); Eskhult (2005).

⁶⁰ There seems to be no homogeneous language type, called biblical poetic language. In Notarius 2005, I suggested four interpretative frameworks for understanding the diversity of the poetic language: chronological, dialectal, literal-conventional, and discursive.

⁶¹ See Moran (1950), or Rainey (1996).

simple present tense, immediate future, and progressive aspect in different temporal references (the book of Amos). A similar situation is reflected in classical biblical prose. The poetic material however suggests additional developments: besides the uses registered in the book of Amos, the book of Hosea contains some cases of iterative and habitual uses, which are less expected in the classical language type.⁶²

The shift from the progressive to the iterative and habitual aspectual meaning proceeds in my view through several semantic revisions. The extended character of E in progressives was reanalysed as an extended interval of R in iteratives. In addition, the inner structure of the event changes: from a punctual and ongoing one it turns into a multiple and repeated one, while the basic imperfective viewpoint is preserved. The introduction of the modal operator "As a rule \rightarrow " represents the next stage: the event/situation turns into one that is possible at a given R, but does not necessarily occur. The participle can also turn into a generic saying.

The present study however does not permit us to make wider generalisations concerning the late language type, since most poetic texts which are tentatively attributed to the corpus of LBH were not taken into consideration. However, the second part of the Song of Hannah contains a large number of cases which are associated with the most advanced stage of linguistic innovation detected in the present corpus, namely with a habitual and generic use of the APP. Therefore, it is taken as a most typical representative of the relatively late language type.⁶³ The status of the Blessing of Moses is not so clear-cut, although some blessings contain seemingly late features. The attribution of the iterative, habitual, and generic values to the APP semantics is a sign of its path to the category of an absolute present-future tense, which it becomes in Mishnaic Hebrew.⁶⁴

The terms of relative chronology, suggested here, are not easily shifted into the absolute terms of historical linguistics, which would contribute to the chronology of the diverse biblical corpora. The more conservative and more innovative language types of BH are still a vivid issue in the present scholarly discussion and the use of poetic material can open new possibilities for further generalisations. As T. Zewi points out, scholars are divided between those who characterise the different language types as chronologically motivated and those who characterise them as shaped by different

⁶² Our analysis that progressives evolve into presents and other imperfectives, including habitals, finds support in the linguistic typological data; see Bybee *et al.* 1994, pp. 140–148.

⁶³ Cf. McCarter 1980, p. 75–76 n. 5.

⁶⁴ Sharvit 1980.

literary conventions.⁶⁵ For the present data, the literary conventional approach would mean that we should postulate at least four different conventions at work, without any reasonable social, generic, or other functional motivation for them. Such an assumption may seem chaotic and lacking in explanatory value. Be that as it may, the issue has not been sufficiently investigated in the present paper.

Eventually, historical linguistics, based on the biblical poetic corpus, should operate in a somewhat tricky and unique way:

1. from the analysis of the corpora without given chronological frameworks
2. to a classification by text-group and language type in terms of relative chronology, which would also consider the evidence of the extra-biblical data and linguistic typology
3. back to the biblical corpus, trying to correlate the classification by language type with the rest of the philological information
4. and then to historical linguistic generalisations, suggesting a view on the diachronic development of BH, illustrated by texts, representative of different historical periods, scribal schools, and genres

In the present study only one grammatical phenomenon was investigated and only the first two stages of the historical linguistic analysis were carried out. My purpose was to illustrate that the re-evaluation of the biblical poetic material in strict terms of typological and historical linguistic analysis would open new possibilities of research.

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⁶⁵ Zewi 2004.

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A Study of New Discovered Thamudic E Inscriptions from Ras el-Naqab Southeast Jordan

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Abstract

*This paper includes a philological treatment of newly discovered Thamudic E inscriptions from al-Mrayghah village in the region of Ras el-Naqab southeast Jordan. These texts reflect some cultural patterns of the settlers of that region until the fourth or fifth century AD.**

Introduction

The northern part of Ras el-Naqab was continuously inhabited in the Neolithic period, the Iron Age and the classical eras: Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods. The area is relatively high and overlooks the surroundings. The abundance of flat areas and agricultural terraces above the highlands surrounding it, together with the existence of water resources like 'Ain Jammam spring and 'Ain Abu Nsour spring (near the area of the inscriptions) led to sedentary life during successive historical periods.

The area was located along the famous Trajan Road (*via nova Trajana*) connecting Bosra esh-Sham, Egypt, and Palestine with the Arabian Peninsula, in particular in the Nabataean, Roman and contemporary periods when

* I would like to thank Dr Sultan al-Maani for allowing me to publish this group of inscriptions from the inscriptions that he collected during his fieldwork in the region in 1996-97.

the North Arabian tribes (Thamudians) chose to live in Wadi Rum, al-Hisma Desert and Ras el-Naqab as a natural geographical extension of these areas.¹

Since these people intensively inhabited these areas, abundant useful documents, including Thamudic E inscriptions, were left on the stones and rocks of the desert. These were useful in recording some of the most important events in history.

During the recent fieldwork, some 60 inscriptions were collected from this area. In this paper I am going to publish 10 of them. According to the general features of the script, these inscriptions were written in Thamudic script. This kind is classified as Thamudic E script,² or South Safaitic script.³

These inscriptions are inscribed on stones of different sizes and scattered over a district near ravines. Two major recent studies have been conducted concerning these inscriptions: G. King published newly discovered Thamudic E inscriptions from southern Jordan in her doctoral dissertation in 1990;⁴ R. Harahsheh and M. Waheeb published 16 inscriptions from this area in the *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* in 2003.⁵ However, their translations need some modifications.

Stone 1:

This stone carries one inscription, inscribed on a smooth surface. It is intact and well readable. There is an animal drawing, resembling a camel; it shows the rudimentary manner of the people's art in that period.

Inscription n° 1

Transliteration: *l k'l bn 'mt'zz*

Translation: By *k'l* son of *'mt'zz*

Comments:

k'l is a masculine personal name, hereafter (n.p. m.), "like the god *'l*," a singular personal name initialed with the preposition *k*, and *'l* is the common Semitic deity. This masculine personal name seems unattested in Thamudic

¹ Harahsheh and Waheeb 2003, p. 25.

² Winnett 1937, p. 42; King 1990, p. 11.

³ Knauf 1983, p. 587; Voigt 1984, p. 311.

⁴ King 1990.

⁵ Harahsheh and Waheeb 2003, pp. 25–32.

or other ancient North Arabian inscriptions. On the other hand, there are personal names attested in the Safaitic inscriptions in which the theophoric element is preceded by a preposition, *e.g.* *b'l*,⁶ as well as the form *b'lh*.⁷ Cf. also *b'l* in Qatabanian.⁸

'mt'zz (n.p. m.): This masculine name is in a feminine form and meaning “maidservant of the goddess ‘zz”; furthermore, it could be related to the epithet “mighty.” This theophoric personal name is hitherto unattested in Thamudic. The first element *'mt* is known in Thamudic as a personal name,⁹ cf. also *'mthmd* and *'mtyt'n*¹⁰ and *'mt'zz* in Lihyanite as *'mt'zh* and *'mthn'zt*.¹¹ Both *'mt*,¹² and *'zz*¹³ are attested in Safaitic too. They are also attested in the South Arabian as *'mt'zyn* in Sabaic,¹⁴ *'mtšms* in Minaen,¹⁵ and *'mt*, *'mtlt* and *'mt'm* in Qatabanian.¹⁶ Here, the three radicals of the goddess name are associated with the well-known Arabic goddess al-‘Uzzā.¹⁷

Stone 2:

There are three inscriptions on the same basalt stone: the first was inscribed using a boustrophedon method, the second was inscribed in a semi-circular shape and the third was inscribed in two parallel lines.

Inscription n° 2 (semi-circular)

Transliteration: *l'c'mr bn ftyt*

Translation: By *c'mr* son of *ftyt*

Comments:

c'mr: (n.p. m.): This personal name is derived from the root *c-m-r* that is related to life, long life, asking for long life.¹⁸ It is a well-known Semitic

⁶ Hazim 1986, p. 11.

⁷ Rousān 2005, n° 296.

⁸ Hayajneh 1998, p. 92.

⁹ King 1990, p. 352 (n° 223); Iskoubi 2007, p. 136.

¹⁰ Jaussen et Savignac 1909, vol. 2, p. 435 (n° 73), p. 440, (n° 76).

¹¹ Abu al-Hasan 1997, p. 151 (n° 47); 2002, p. 104 (n° 222).

¹² Grimme 1929, p. 75 (n° W 96).

¹³ Ababneh 2005, p. 94 (n° 28), p. 99 (n° 43), p. 275 (n° 622).

¹⁴ Sholan 1999, p. 98.

¹⁵ Al-Said 1995, p. 206.

¹⁶ Hayajneh 1998, p. 85.

¹⁷ Bauar and Lundin 1998, p. 16 (n° 77).

¹⁸ See Iskoubi 2007, p. 305 (n° 171).

personal name, is attested in Thamudic as *mr*¹⁹ as well as in other North Arabian inscriptions,²⁰ as *mrn* in Sabaic,²¹ *mrt* in Minaean,²² *mrn* and *mrt* in Qatabanian,²³ *mr* in Lihyanite,²⁴ *mr* and *mrw* in Nabataean,²⁵ *mr*, *mr* and *mrw* in Palmyrene,²⁶ and *Umr*, “life,” in Arabic.²⁷ It is also mentioned as Αμρος in Greek inscriptions from Umm al-Jimal north east of Jordan.²⁸

ftyt (n.p. m. with feminine suffix *-t*), “young,” is attested as *ftyt* in Thamudic,²⁹ *fty* in Safaitic,³⁰ also *h-fty* “the youth”,³¹ and *ftyt* in Sabai.³²

The third son of Noah was *yēpet* and *patūʿel* is the father of the prophet Joel,³³ *pty* in Geʿez and in Ugaritic could be compared with Arabic *fatīya*.³⁴

Inscription n° 3

Transliteration: *l kms bn ykrʿl*

Translation: BY *kms* son of *ykrʿl*

Comments:

kms (n.p. m.) is attested as *kms* in Thamudic,³⁵ and *kms* in Safaitic,³⁶ *kmsʿ* “humiliated, crush” in Sabaic.³⁷

Tāḡ al-ʿArous mentions *al-kamūs* as Arabic slang from Syriac *kaymūs*, “mixture.”³⁸ The word *kamus*, “to lead fade or languish,” is attested in Syriac.³⁹

¹⁹ King 1990, p. 530.

²⁰ Harding 1971, p. 436.

²¹ Abdallah 1975, p. 78.

²² Al-Said 1995, p. 141.

²³ Hayajneh 1998, p. 199.

²⁴ Al-Ansary 1966, p. 96.

²⁵ Negev 1991, pp. 52–53; Al-Khraysheh 1986, pp. 144–145.

²⁶ Stark 1971, p. 106.

²⁷ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 7, p. 258 (*mr*).

²⁸ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 52.

²⁹ King 1990, p. 304 (n° 39).

³⁰ Ryckmans 1950–1951, 138; Winnett and Harding 1978, p. 139 (n° 641a), p. 184 (n° 996), p. 260 (n° 1615a).

³¹ Harding 1971, p. 462.

³² Abdallah 1975, p. 81; Tairan 1992, p. 176.

³³ Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 834.

³⁴ Leslau 1987, p. 171.

³⁵ King 1990, p. 416 (n° 535).

³⁶ Al-Hishan 2006, p. 33 (n° 33), p. 128 (n° 81).

³⁷ Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 78.

³⁸ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 8, p. 449 (*kms*).

³⁹ Payne-Smith 1985, p. 217.

The same usage is spread in the local dialect through the term *kāmis*, “lifeless face, fade color.”

ykrʾl (n.p. m.) is a verbal theophoric personal name consisting of the initial element *ykr* and the deity ʾl. This name is new in Thamudic. *ykr* is an imperfect form from the Arabic root *k-r-w* “rend, purchase,”⁴⁰ and from *karā(h)*, “to get by trade, buying and purchase,” in Hebrew⁽⁴¹⁾. However, it could be from the root *k-r-r* “to go back.”

Inscription n° 4

Transliteration: *lʿrʿr bn mqmʾl*

Translation: By *lʿrʿr* son of *mqmʾl*

Comments:

ʿrʿr (n.p. m.) “Juniper tree, prickly cedar” is for the first time attested in the North Arabian inscriptions.

mqmʾl (n.p. m.) “Place of ʾl, (or) the standing of ʾl,” is a theophoric personal name consisting of the initial element *mqm* and the deity ʾl. It is mentioned as *mqmʾl* in Talmudic,⁴² in Safaitic⁴³ and in Nabataean.⁴⁴

Etymologically, the first element *mqm* is derived from the root *q-w-m* and it could be equivalent to the Arabic *maqām*, “place, situation,” or *muqīm*, “rank, standing.”⁴⁵

Stone 3:

This stone has one incomplete inscription. The first character of the personal name was inscribed as a semi-half circle, so it is preferred to read it as the “*mīm*”. The letter “*nūn*” is as full closed circle.

Inscription n° 5

Transliteration: (*l*)*mrt bn w...*

Translation: (By) *mrt* son of *w...*

⁴⁰ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 20, p. 123 (*krw*).

⁴¹ Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 500.

⁴² King 1990, p. 283 (n° 133).

⁴³ Harding 1971, p. 560.

⁴⁴ Negev 1991, p. 41.

⁴⁵ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 17, p. 545 (*qwm*).

Comments:

mrt (n.p. m.) is attested in Thamudic, Safaitic and Sabaic.⁴⁶

mrt is also mentioned as a feminine name in Sabaic.⁴⁷

Stone 4:

The reading of the inscription is certain, though a character of the letter “*dāl*” of the first personal name is unusual compared to the third one. The “*ain*” was represented as a small circle, in contrast to the letter “*gīm*” that is formed as a big circle.

Inscription n° 6

Transliteration: *l^cd bn ^clm bn ^ʾdġn bn kml*

Translation: By *^cd* son of *^ʾdġn* son of *Kml*

Comments:

^cd (n.p. m.) is attested in Thamudic and Safaitic, *d^cd* as a tribal name in Minaean,⁴⁸ but as a theophoric personal name, *^cd^ʿl*, in Sabaic and Minaean only.⁴⁹

^cd is also mentioned as Αδεος and Αεδος, a Semitic personal name, in Greek inscriptions from Umm al-Jimal.⁵⁰

^clm (n.p. m.) occurred in Thamudic, Safaitic, Sabaic and Liḥyanite,⁵¹ and *^clmn* in Sabaic and Minaean.⁵² In Arabic, it is derived from the root *^c-l-m*.⁵³

^ʾdġn (n.p. m.) is a masculine personal name from the root *d-ġ-n*,⁵⁴ in Northwest Semitic, “grain (of cereals).”⁵⁵ It is also mentioned in Hebrew as a divine name *dāḡan*.⁵⁶

⁴⁶ Harding 1971, p. 538; Al-Theeb 2000a, n° 1; Abdallah 1975, p. 88; Iskoubi 2007, p. 471 (n° 270).

⁴⁷ Sholan 1999, p. 134.

⁴⁸ Harding 1971, p. 409; King 1990, p. 524; Iskoubi 2007, p. 247 (n° 129).

⁴⁹ Tairan 1992, p. 155; Al-Said 1995, p. 134.

⁵⁰ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 38.

⁵¹ Harding 1971, p. 432; King 1990, p. 375 (n° 329).

⁵² Abdallah 1975, p. 78; al-Said 1995, p. 138.

⁵³ See Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 17, p. 495-501 (*^clm*); Ibn Durayd 1979, p. 209.

⁵⁴ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 18, p. 187 (*dġn*).

⁵⁵ Hofstijzer and Jongeling, p. 24; Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 186.

⁵⁶ Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 186; Maraqten 1988, p. 50.

kml (n.p. m.), “perfect,” is mentioned as a well-known personal name in Thamudic, Safaitic and Qatabanian,⁵⁷ *kml'wm* in Sabaic.⁵⁸

Stone 5:

The left upper side of “*yā*” was an incomplete closed circle, the letter “*tā*” was raised up out of the inscription level.

Inscription n° 7

Transliteration: *hzyt bn tm'l*

Translation: By *hzyt* son of *tm'l*

Comments:

hzyt (n.p. m.) is a personal name mentioned in Thamudic and Safaitic.⁵⁹ It is also attested as *hzy* and *hz'l* in Safaitic,⁶⁰ and *hzyf'm* in Qatabanian.⁶¹ We have evidence in Aramaic for the masculine name *Ḥez'yôn*, “vision,” the ancestor of Benhadad, king of Aram, and *Ḥ'zāh'ēl*, “‘Ēl sees” and *Ḥ'zī'ēl*, “vision of ‘Ēl,” as theophoric personal name.⁶² It could be equivalent to the Arabic personal name *al-Ḥāzī*, “the priest,”⁶³ from the root *h-z-y*, “to divine, perceive with the inner vision, to foretell.”⁶⁴

hzyt may be the other form of *hz* (see inscription n° 9 in this article), and it is common in Northwest Semitic *hzy*, “to see; seer, prophet,”⁶⁵ in Hebrew *hāzā(h)*, “see, behold.”⁶⁶

tm'l (n.p. m.) is a theophoric masculine personal name that consists of the initial element *tm* “slave, servant” and the common Semitic deity 'l. It occurs commonly in Thamudic and Safaitic,⁶⁷ *tymlt* in South Arabic,⁶⁸ *tym'lh* in Nabataean,⁶⁹ *tymlt* in Palmyrene,⁷⁰ and *tymlt* in Hatra.⁷¹ It also occurs as a

⁵⁷ Harding 1971, p. 505; Hayajneh 1998, p. 222.

⁵⁸ Sholan 1999, p. 128.

⁵⁹ King 1990, p. 244 (n° 318); Harding 1971, p. 188.

⁶⁰ Ryckmans 1950–1951, 1065; Hazim 1986, p. 27.

⁶¹ Hayajneh 1998, p. 119.

⁶² Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 303; Maraqten 1988, p. 163.

⁶³ Al-Hamdani 1986, p. 354.

⁶⁴ Al-Zabīdī 1994, vol. 19, p. 317 (*hzy*).

⁶⁵ Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, pp. 357–361.

⁶⁶ Brown *et al.* 1974, pp. 302–303.

⁶⁷ Harding 1971, p. 137; King 1990, p. 261 (n° 36).

⁶⁸ Abdallah 1975, p. 36; Al-Said 1995, p. 77.

⁶⁹ Negev 1991, pp. 67–68.

⁷⁰ Stark 1971, p. 117.

⁷¹ Abbadi 1983, p. 173–174.

tribal name in Safaitic.⁷² In addition, Θαιμαλλας is a Semitic personal name in Greek inscriptions from Umm al-Jimal north east of Jordan.⁷³

Stone 6:

This stone carries only one readable inscription.

Inscription n° 8

Transliteration: *srʾl*

Translation: By *srʾl*

Comments:

srʾl (n.p. m.) is a theophoric personal name which is composed of the initial element *sr* and the common deity ʾl. It is probably attested in Thamudic in a short form as *srl*.⁷⁴ It can be compared with *šrʾlbʿly* and *šrʾlhy* in the Nabataean inscriptions.⁷⁵ The first element *sr* appears in Thamudic and Safaitic,⁷⁶ as well as *srʾ* and *sry* in Palmyrene.⁷⁷

The element *sr* probably originated from an Assyrian root *š-r-r*, *šarru*, “king,”⁷⁸ which is used as a title for the deity in the middle Assyrian period.⁷⁹ The analogous name is attested in Assyrian as *šar-ilān-iliia* and *šar-ištar*.⁸⁰ In Hebrew שר means “chief, official, prince”;⁸¹ in Arabic, *sirr* “the best.”⁸² It is also mentioned as Σαραλλας, a Semitic personal name, in Greek inscriptions from Al-Karak, south of Jordan.⁸³

Stone 7:

This stone carries two inscriptions; one of them, n° 9, was inscribed in two lines. The letters were not inscribed in the same way; some are thicker than the others.

⁷² Jamme 1967, p. 202.

⁷³ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 100.

⁷⁴ Iskoubi 2007, p. 269 (n° 146).

⁷⁵ Al-Khaysheh 1986, pp. 184, 185.

⁷⁶ Harding 1971, p. 315; King 1990, p. 283 (n° 133).

⁷⁷ Stark 1971, p. 102.

⁷⁸ Gelb *et al.* 1990, vol. 17, pt. 2, p. 76.

⁷⁹ Fowler 1988, p. 244.

⁸⁰ Tallqvist 1966, p. 216.

⁸¹ Brown *et al.* 1974, p. 968; Stark 1971, p. 102.

⁸² Al-Himyari 1999, vol. 5, p. 2905.

⁸³ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 178.

*Inscription n° 9***Transliteration:** *lhn'lh bn hz***Translation:** By *hn'lh* son of *hz**Comments:*

hn'lh (n.p. m.), “gift of god,” is a masculine theophoric personal name consisting of the initial element *hn'*, “gift; to give; pleasant,” and the deity *lh*. This name is common in Safaitic, Talmudic,⁸⁴ and in Lihyanite.⁸⁵

hn'lh is also mentioned as *Αναηλως*, a Semitic personal name, in Greek inscriptions from Al-Mafraq, northeast of Jordan.⁸⁶

hz: For this name, see *hzyt* (inscription n° 7).

*Inscription n° 10***Transliteration:** *lhn'h bn yns***Translation:** By *hn'h* son of *yns**Comments:*

hn'h (n.p. m.) is a masculine personal name derived from the root *h-n-ʔ*. This form is new in Thamudic. However, it is attested in Lihyanite,⁸⁷ therefore it could be a variant form of *hn't*, which is frequent in North Arabia.⁸⁸

The name *hnyt* occurs in Talmudic,⁸⁹ *hn'* in Safaitic⁹⁰ and in Lihyanite,⁹¹ *hn'y* in Palmyrene,⁹² and *hny* in Hatra.⁹³ In Old South Arabian: *hn'* in Minaean⁹⁴ and Qatabanian.⁹⁵ *Hāni'* in Arabic.⁹⁶ It is also mentioned as *Ανεαθως* in Greek inscriptions from Umm al-Jimal, northeast of Jordan.⁹⁷

⁸⁴ Harding 1971, p. 626; Hazim 1986, p. 127; King 1990, p. 296 (n° 2).

⁸⁵ Abu al-Hasan 1997, p. 298 (n° 135).

⁸⁶ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 53.

⁸⁷ Abu al-Hasan 1997, p. 168 (n° 55).

⁸⁸ Littmann 1954, n° 75; Harding 1971, p. 625; al-Khraysheh 1986, p. 63.

⁸⁹ Van den Branden 1950, p. 450 (Jsa 655).

⁹⁰ Al-Khraysheh 1986, p. 398.

⁹¹ Abu al-Hasan 1997, p. 115 (n° 29).

⁹² Stark 1971, p. 84.

⁹³ Abbadi 1983, p. 100.

⁹⁴ Al-Said 1995, p. 172.

⁹⁵ Hayajneh 1998, p. 260.

⁹⁶ Ibn Durayd 1979, p. 364.

⁹⁷ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 55.

Another example of a personal name ending with *-h* as a variant of *-t*, *ʿwdh* and *ʿwdt*.⁹⁸ See *hnʿlh*, Photo 10: inscription 10

yns (n.p. m.) is mentioned in Thamudic as *ʿns*.⁹⁹ It can be read as *Yūnis* and *Yūnus* in Arabic. This name could also be the equivalent to the Greek Ιωαννης.

Conclusion

This study aimed to publish ten new Thamudic inscriptions written in the so-called Thamudic E script. This shape of script was known in the region of south and southeast Jordan and north and northwest Saudi Arabia. These inscriptions included personal names representing the name of the person, his father and sometimes his grandfather and the tribe. Some of these names were theophoric compounds like *srʿl*, *hnʿlh* and *ʿmtʿzz*. The study reveals some new personal names like *kʿl*, *ʿmtʿzz*, *ykrʿl*, *ʿrʿr*, *ʿdgn*, *srʿl*, *hnʿlh* and *yns*. Moreover, it has figured out more information about the linguistic phenomena and shapes of the script. These inscriptions together with the new personal names are considered a useful addition to the corpus of Pre-Islamic North Arabian inscriptions in general.

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⁹⁸ Harding 1971, p. 447.

⁹⁹ Van den Branden 1950, p. 320 (n° Hu 617).

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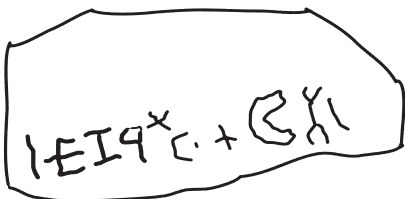
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stone 5/ insc. 7



stone 6/ insc. 8



stone 7/ insc. 9-10

Psalis for the Feast of the Cross

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Abstract

This article is the edition of two unpublished psalis of the collection of Oxford. The article highlights the patristic, biblical and liturgical background of the author of each text.

Introduction

The feast of the Cross is a special occasion in the Coptic Church. The celebration of this feast has several particularities such as the procession of the Cross.¹ There are also special psalis.²

Some of these psalis are published in the edition of Nahdat al-Kanais,³ which follows the reverse alphabetical order⁴ and some are published in the book of Psalis.⁵

The psalis Adam⁶ and Batos⁷ for the Cross, edited hereafter, are taken from the Ms 55 Oxford.

¹ Youssef 2007, pp. 159–168.

² For the psalis, see Abd Al-Masih 1958, pp. 85–100.

³ Nahdat 'l-Kanais 1949, pp. 578–584.

⁴ Abd Al-Masih 1958, pp. 85–100.

⁵ Filothaus al-Maqari and Girgis, 1913, pp. 55–59.

⁶ Adam is the tone to which hymns are sung on Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays. The name is taken from the first words of the first stanza of the theotokia for Monday: “Adam was yet sorrowful of heart.”

⁷ The tone to which hymns are sung on Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The name is taken from the first stanza of the theotokia of Thursday: “Bush which Moses saw in the desert.”

The Manuscript

The manuscript is not dated however we find a note mentioning the name of the scribe:

اذكر يارب عبدك الخاطي الغارق في بحار الخطايا
والذنوب سمعان تلميذ الاطفال خادم بيعة
الست السيدة العذرى وكنيسة الشهيد العظيم
ماري جرجس والقديس ابونا رويس والقديس
العظيم في البطارقة انبا متاوس والشهيد
العظيم ابالي ابن يسطس يا قاري اطلب
من شوارح قلبك وقول ببركاتهم وشفاعة
الست السيدة يغفر خطايانا اجمعين امين

Remember O Lord your servant, the sinner, who sunk in the seas of sins and transgressions, Simeon the disciple of the children, the minister of the church of our Lady, Lady, the Virgin and the church of the great martyr saint George and saint our father Ruwais and the great among the patriarchs Anba Matthew and the great martyr Apali son of Justus.

O Reader, pray from the depth of your heart and say let their blessings and the intercession of our Lady, Lady to forgive our sins all, Amen!

The Text

Pasli Adam

<p>α πδ̄ς ερογρο αq† νογσαι ζιωτq ογοz ϛεν πιβρο nem †xom αqμοpq bon niben εταγμενριτq αγερογρο nemαq ογοz πιχαχι αγζιτq γραφη nnennovi αqφαϛ επῑc̄ ϛεν τεqμετμαιρωμι nem τεqμεταγαθoс ααγiα αqxoc on ϛεν ογαληθiα xε δι νογzοπλον τwnk εταβονθiα</p>	<p>The Lord has reigned he clothed Himself with beauty and with victory strength, He has girded Himself⁸ All who loved Him, have reigned with Him and the enemy was thrown</p> <p>He tears up the <i>handwriting</i> of our Sins⁹ to the <i>Cross</i> through His love of Mankind and His <i>goodness</i> David said also <i>truly</i>: “take a <i>weapon</i> and stand up for my help.”¹⁰</p>
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⁸ Ps 92 [93]:1; “Prayer of the Sext,” in Burmester 1973, p. 56 (text), p. 173 (translation).

⁹ “Troparion of the sext,” in Burmester 1973, p. 57 (text), p. 174 (translation).

¹⁰ Ps 34 [35]:2.

<p> ΡΑΨΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΕΜ ΤΑΙΟ ΑΓΕΡΠΕΜΠΩΑ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΞΕΝ ΤΕΦΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ ΣΕ ΜΠΩΑ ΝΑΝ ΜΦΟΟΥ ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑ ΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝΤ- ΩΟΥ ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΜΠΙC̄P̄C̄ ΤΕΝΕΡCΦΡΑΓΙΖΙΝ * ΜΜΟQ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΕΝΤΕΖΝΙ ΤΕΝΚΑΤ ΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΛΙΝ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΜΩΙΤ ΝΑΤΑΒΙΝΙ ΥC̄ ΘC̄ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΝΙΕΝΕΖ ΠΙΑΖΟ ΝΤΕ ΠΙCΩΤ ΕΤΩΟΠ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΦΗΕΤΑΕΝQ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΝΟΥΘΥCΙΑ ΕCΩΗΠ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙC̄P̄C̄ ΕΘΒΕ ΝΕQΖΙΗΒ ΧΕΡΕ ΠΙC̄P̄C̄ ΕΤΑQΩΛΙ ΜΜΟQ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΚΥΡΜΙΝΕΟΣ ΑΓΑΩQ ΠΑΘC̄ ΕΡΟQ* ΨΩΤΗΡ ΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC ΦΗΕΤΑQΒΙΜΚΑΖ ΝΟΖΕΜ ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΟΥΟΖ ΞΩΤΕΒ ΝΝΟΥΜΑΥΖ ΩΟΥΝΖΗΤ ΝΕΜΗΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΞΑ ΦΗΕΤΑQΖΕΙ ΜΑΤΟΥΝΟCΤ ΝΧΩΛΕΜ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΝΨΑΝΘΩΟΥΤ </p>	<p> All joy and honour are worthy to them in the kingdom Yes, it is worthy to us, today, o <i>faith- ful</i> to glorify the <i>sign</i> of the <i>cross</i> We <i>sign</i> it on our forehead and we understand we <i>praise</i> in an irreproach- able way <i>Son of God</i> our God, King of ages, the treasure of salvation who is forever That who offered himself as an accepted sacrifice on the <i>cross</i> for his sheep <i>Hail to the Cross</i> that Cyrenian carried up on him. My Lord was crucified on it <i>Saviour of the World</i>, who received suffering, save your <i>people</i> and kill our sufferings Be patient with me, myself who fall and arise me quickly <i>And also</i> if we assemble </p>
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Commentary

The stanzas have special rhyme:

Α ΠΘC̄ ΕΡΟΥΡΟ
ΟΥΟΖ ΞΕΝ ΠΙΒΡΟ

ΑQ† ΝΟΥCΑΙ ΖΙΩΤQ
ΝΕΜ †ΧΟΜ ΝΑQ ΑQΜΟΡQ

The author's Coptic language is correct except for the confusion between the Greek verb "CΥΜΜΕΝΙΝ," "to stay together, keep together, hold together, abide, continue" and the Coptic verb "CΕΜΝΙ," "establish, construct, set right":

ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΘΒΕ ΦΑΙ Α ΠΑΥΛΟC
ΕΡCΥΜΜΕΝΙΝ ΕΘΒΕ * ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ
ΝΕΜ ΝΙΟΥΕΙΝΙΝ

Also, therefore, Paul established for the
Jews and the Greeks

There are three sources of inspiration for this psali:

A. Liturgical texts

The first stanza resembles the first stanza of the Psali Adam for the first Ode for the resurrection:

Psali of the Cross	Psali of the Resurrection for the first Ode ¹⁶	Psali for the first Ode for Kihak ¹⁷
<p><u>α πῶς εῤοῦρο αῗτ</u> <u>νοῦσαι ζωτq</u> <u>οὔοz ζεν πιῖρο</u> <u>nem τῡom naq</u> <u>αῗμοpῗ</u> <u>The Lord has reigned</u> <u>he clothed Himself with</u> <u>beauty and with victory</u> <u>strength, He has girded</u> <u>Himself</u></p>	<p><u>α πῶς εῤοῦρο αῗτ</u> <u>νοῦσαι ζωτq</u> <u>πῶοic ζεν πιῡom</u> <u>nem πιωοῡ</u> <u>αῗμοpῗ</u> <u>The Lord has reigned</u> <u>he clothed Himself with</u> <u>beauty and with strength</u> <u>and glory, He has girded</u> <u>Himself</u></p>	<p><u>α πῶς εῤοῦρο αῗτ</u> <u>νοῦσαι ζωτq</u> <u>nem πιωοῡ nem</u> <u>πταio οὔοz ζεν</u> <u>πιῡom αῗμοpῗ</u> <u>The Lord has reigned</u> <u>he clothed Himself and</u> <u>glory and honour and</u> <u>with strength, He has</u> <u>girded Himself</u></p>

It is important to mention that our text is accurate to use τῡom, with the feminine article, while in both the psalis for the Resurrection and for the month of Kihak, it is wrongly used with the masculine article: πιῡom.

The third stanza has also some similarities:

Psali of the Cross	Psali of the Resurrection for the first Ode
<p><u>γραφῗ nnennovi αῗφαz</u> <u>επιῗc̄ ζεν τεῗμετμαιρωμι</u> <u>nem τεῗμεταγαῗος</u> <u>He tears up the handwriting of our</u> <u>Sins to the Cross through His love of</u> <u>the Mankind and His goodness</u></p>	<p><u>γραφῗ nnennovi αῗφαz</u> <u>επιῗc̄ οὔοz αῗκωpῗ mῗmoῡ</u> <u>ζεν πεῗmoῡ</u> <u>He tears the handwriting of our sins</u> <u>on the Cross and He annihilates death</u> <u>by his death</u></p>

Later we find another stanza inspired from the psali of Monday:

Psali of the Cross	Psali of Monday ¹⁸
<p><u>zωhc nnenψῡxῗ πεpoyot</u> <u>nnezh̄t tnomτ̄ nneῗxῗ</u> <u>ζεν τ̄metkoῡxi nzh̄t</u></p>	<p><u>ψολceλ nnenψῡxῗ</u> <u>πεpoyot nnezh̄t πε</u> <u>πεκραn ēō̄ ω παῗc̄ īhc̄</u></p>

¹⁶ al-Muharaqqi 1971, p. 303.

¹⁷ Tukhi 1764, p. 374.

¹⁸ Nahdat 1949, p. 110.

The life of <u>our souls</u> and the <u>joy of our hearts</u> of those who are faint-hearted	The consolation of <u>our souls</u> and the <u>joy of our hearts</u> is Your holy name o my Lord Jesus
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The hymn of the Cross:

Psali of the Cross	Hymn of the Cross ¹⁹
<p><u>ΦΗΕΤΑΕΝQ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΝΟΥΘΥCΙΑ</u> <u>ΕCΩΗΠ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙC̄P̄C̄ ΕΘΒΕ</u> <u>ΝΕQΖΙΗΒ</u> That <u>who offered himself as an accepted</u> <u>sacrifice on the cross</u> for his sheep</p>	<p><u>ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑΕΝQ ΕΠΩΩΙ</u> <u>ΝΟΥΘΥCΙΑ ΕCΩΗΠ ΖΙΧΕΝ</u> <u>ΠΙC̄P̄C̄</u> <u>ΣΑ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΕΝΓΕΝΟC</u> This <u>who offered himself as an accepted</u> <u>sacrifice on the cross</u> for the salvation of our race</p>

B. Coptic literature texts

There are three stanzas inspired from the homily of Athanasius:

Psali of the Cross	Homily of St Athanasius ²⁰
<p>ΗΠΠΕ ΜΩΥCΗC ΑQΣΗΚ ΝΕQΧΙΧ ΝΟΥ ^P_C ΑQΒΡΟ ΝΑΜΛΕΛΗC ΣΕΝ ΠΙΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΘΕΚΛΑ ΑCΝΟΖΕΜ ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ ΤΕΘΛΥΨΙC ΙΟΥΔΙΘ ΑCΖΟΛΕΜ ΝΕΛΟΥΦΑΡΝΙC ΙΟΥΔΙΘ ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ ΤΧΙΧ ΝΑΛΟΦΕΡΝΗC</p> <p><u>Behold</u>, lo, Moses stretched his hands as a cross and overcame Amalek in the war Thecla was delivered from the beast and Judith seized Holofernes</p>	<p>ΖΗΠΠΕ ΙC ΜΩΥCΙC ΠΙΑΡΧΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΕΤΑQΦΩΡΩ ΝΝΕQΧΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΑQΒΡΟ ΕΠΙΑΜΑΛΗΚ</p> <p>ΘΕΚΛΑ ΣΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥΖΙΤC ΕΝΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΑCΝΟΖΕΜ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΙΤΥΠΟC ΜΠΙC̄P̄C̄</p> <p><u>Behold</u>, when Moses the <i>archprophet</i> stretched forth his hands he vanquished Amalek Thecla when thrown to the wild beast saved (herself) by the form of the Cross. Judith from the hand of Holofernes</p>

There is a stanza inspired from the homily of Ps. Cyril of Jerusalem:

ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΙCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC ΑQΧΑQ ΣΕΝ ΠΙΜΩΟΥ ΕΤΕΝΩΩΩΙ ΑQΖΛΟΧ
 ΣΕΝ ΟΥΙΗC ΑQΝΑΖ† ΣΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΩΙ

¹⁹ al-Muharaqī 1971, pp. 145, 160, 179.

²⁰ Burmester, 1932, pp. 21–70, especially p. 46 (text), p. 66 (translation).

Isaac the Samaritan put himself in the bitter water and became sweet on the spot he believed with joy

This stanza refers to the homily on the praise of the Cross attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, wherein he narrated how a Samaritan named Isaac was converted to Christianity.²¹ His name occurs also in the homily of Cyril of Jerusalem, *In Honor of the Twelve Apostles*.²² It is important to mention that Cyril of Jerusalem evokes the Cross several times in his writing and his homilies, especially the letter to the emperor Constantius and homilies numbers 4, 10, and 19.²³

The following stanza is also inspired from Coptic literature:

ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΕΜ ΕΛΕΝΗ ΤΕΡΜΑΥ ΑΓΓ ΝΩΟΥ ΠΒΡΟ
ΞΕΝ ΠΙΧΟΥ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ

He gave victory to Constantine the king and his mother Helen at that time.

This stanza refers to the *Vita Constantini*, which includes in chapter I:27–32²⁴ a vision of the Cross, and how this vision blessed the emperor to overcome his enemies.²⁵

C. The Scripture

Our text has two direct quotations from the Psalms and one from the Gospels, the First Epistle to the Corinthians:

Psalm of the Cross	Psalm 92 [93]:1
<p><u>Α ΠΒ̄C ΕΡΟΥΡΟ ΑΓΓ ΝΟΥCΑΙ</u> <u>ΖΙΩΤQ ΟΥΟZ ΞΕΝ ΠΙΒΡΟ ΝΕΜ</u> <u>†ΧΟΜ ΑQΜΟΡQ</u> <u>The Lord has reigned he clothed</u> <u>Himself with beauty and with victory</u> <u>strength, He has girded Himself</u></p>	<p><u>Α ΠΒ̄C ΕΡΟΥΡΟ ΑΓΓ ΝΟΥCΑΙ</u> <u>ΖΙΩΤQ ΠΒ̄C ΑΓΓ ΝΟΥΧΟΜ</u> <u>ΖΙΩΤQ ΟΥΟZ ΑQΜΟΡQ ΜΜΟC</u> <u>The Lord has reigned; He has clothed</u> <u>Himself with beauty He has clothed</u> <u>Himself with strength and He has</u> <u>girded Himself with it</u></p>

²¹ Campagnano 1980, pp. 76:5, 84:21–89:9; Wallis Budge 1915, pp. ci–cxiii, 183–230 (text) and 809–827 (translation), especially pp. 188–194.

²² See Orlandi 1991, vol. 2, p. 324a–b; vol. 3, pp. 681a–682a.

²³ Quasten 1987, pp. 517–519, 524–528.

²⁴ Quasten 1987, pp. 454–459.

²⁵ For Constantine in the Coptic literature, see Wilfong (1998, pp. 177–187) and Orlandi *et al.* 1980, pp. 86–88, 101–108.

Psali of the Cross	Psalm 34 [35]:2
<p>ΔΑΥΙΔ ΑΓΧΟΣ ΟΝ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΑΛΗΘΙΑ ΧΕ ΒΙ ΝΟΥΖΟΠΛΟΝ ΤΩΝΚ ΕΤΑΒΟΗΘΙΑ David said also truly: “<u>take a <i>weapon</i></u> and stand up for my help.</p>	<p>ΒΙ ΝΟΥΖΟΠΛΟΝ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΨΕΒΨΙ ΤΩΝΚ ΑΡΙΒΟΗΘΙΝ ΕΡΟΙ “<u>Take hold of a <i>weapon</i></u> and shield, stand up help me.</p>

Psali of the Cross	Mark 15:21 ²⁶
<p>ΧΕΡΕ ΠΙΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕΤΑΦΩΛΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΚΥΡΜΙΝΕΟΣ ΑΓΑΨΦ ΠΑΘ̄ ΕΡΟΦ* Hail to the <i>Cross</i>, that Cyrenian bore it. My Lord was crucified on it</p>	<p>ΟΥΟΖ ΑΓΒΙ ΝΟΥΑΙ ΝΧΒΑ ΕΦCΙΝΙΨΟΥ CΙΜΩΝ ΠΙΚΥΡΙΝΝΕΟΣΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΩΛΙ ΜΠΕΦCΤΑΥΡΟC And they compel one Simon a Cyrenian ...<i>to</i> bear his <i>cross</i></p>

Psali of the Cross	I Cor 1:22.
<p>ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΘΒΕ ΦΑΙ Α ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΡCΥΜΜΕΝΙΝ ΕΘΒΕ * ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΟΥΕΙΝΙΝ ΜΠΟΥΚΩ† ΕΖΛΙ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΖΑΝCΟΦΙΑ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝ ΝΙΨ† ΜΜΗΝΙ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΘΑΥΜΑCΙΑ ΝΕΝΧΙΝΚΩ† ΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΝΨΟΥΨΟΥ ΜΜΗ ΝΘΟΦ ΠΕ ΠΙΖΟΠΛΟΝ ΠΙΤ̄Ρ̄ ΝΤΑΦΜΗ ΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΙCΘΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΝ ΘΝ ΦΗΕΤΑΓΑΨΦ ΕΠΨΕ ΨΑ ΝΤΕΦCΩ† ΜΜΟΝ Also, therefore, Paul established for the Jews and the Greeks Not to search anything save wisdom, great signs and wonders</p>	<p>ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΙΚΕΙΟΥΔΙΑ CΕΕΡΕΤΙΝ ΝΖΑΝΜΗΝΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΙΟΥΕΙΝΙΝ CΕΚΩ† ΝCΑ ΟΥCΟΦΙΑ ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΝΖΙΨ ΜΠΧ̄ ΕΑΓΑΨΦ ΝΙΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥCΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ ΝΨΟΥ ΄Ε ΝΙΕΘΝΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΜΕΤCΟΧ ΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑ ΝΗΕΘΝΟΖΕΜ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΟΥΕΙΝΙΝ ΠΧ̄ ΟΥΧΟΜ ΝΤΕ Φ† ΠΕ ΝΕΜ ΟΥCΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΕ Φ† For the Jews require signs, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of</p>

²⁶ See also Matt. 27:26; Luke 23:26.

Our search, for us, and our true pride, is the weapon the true Cross Confess the Lord God, who was cru- cified on the cross in order to save us.	God.
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It is important to mention where these quotations from the Scriptures are used in the Coptic liturgy:

1. The psalm is used in the Horologion, in the sixth hour.²⁷
2. The quotation from the Epistle of Saint Paul (I Cor 1:22) is taken from the reading of the feast of the Cross.²⁸
3. The Gospel of Mark is used during the Good Friday for the third hour.²⁹
4. It is amazing that the Psalm 34 [35]:2 is not used in any liturgical book.

Conclusion

In a previous article, we discuss a psali containing some patristic quotations from Cyril of Alexandria and Severus of Antioch.³⁰ Despite the late date of the psali discussed here, the author seems to have good knowledge of patristic texts, using the homilies attributed to Athanasius (which are read in the Holy Week) and Cyril of Jerusalem, as well as the story of Constantine.

The author used also liturgical texts adapted for this context.

The scriptural quotations which are used are generally also used in other liturgical books, except the Psalm 34 [35]:2.

The psali Batos for the Cross

<p>ΑΡΙΨΑΛΙΝ ΕΦΗΕΤΑΥΑΥΩ ΞΕΝ ΠΕΦΟΥΩΨ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΨ ΙΗ̅C̅ ΠΧ̅C̅ ΤΕΝΕΡΖΟΥΟ ΒΑΣΨ ΟΥΟΖ ΤΕΝΟΥΩΨΤ ΜΜΟΨ ΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΑΣΤΑΖΟΝ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΣΟΠ ΞΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥΑΥΩ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑ ΝΙΖΗΚΙ ΝΧΩΒΙ</p>	<p><i>Sing</i> unto who was crucified with His own will, Jesus <i>Christ</i>, we exalt Him above all and we worship Him</p> <p>All <i>help</i>, reached us with all the <i>nations</i> together when He was crucified for us, we the humble poor</p>
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²⁷ Burmester 1973, p. 173 (translation).

²⁸ De Fenoyl 1960, p. 67.

²⁹ Burmester 1947, p. 360 [312].

³⁰ Youssef 2006, pp. 101–112.

γε γαρ φω³¹ μπικ³²δε νχιχ
 ννεννοβι ναρχεος
 εταρφωρψ επωωι ννερχιχ
 ριχεν πψε ντε πι³³ρ³⁴
 αα³⁵ γαρ αφερμεορε χε
 αχος ³⁶δεν νιεθνος χε α
 π³⁷δ³⁸ ερογρο εβολ ρι ογψε
 ρνατ³⁹ραπ εζανλαος
 εοβε φαι αραιρ νογ*ροπλον
 ιςχεν ωορπ ννιπροφητης
 ογορ ⁴⁰δεν τ⁴¹δαε ννι⁴²ων
 ογταχρο ννι⁴³α⁴⁴σκ⁴⁵υ⁴⁶τη
 ζε ωντος μωγ⁴⁷ς⁴⁸ ρι πωα⁴⁹ρε
 ιςχεν ωορπ ννι⁵⁰χρο⁵¹νος
 αρωλι νογ⁵²ρο⁵³ εχεν ογψε
 εοβε φ⁵⁴νο⁵⁵ζε⁵⁶μ⁵⁷ μπε⁵⁸ρα⁵⁹ος
 ηππε πι⁶⁰ψ⁶¹ω⁶²τ⁶³ ντε αρ⁶⁴ων
 αρ⁶⁵φι⁶⁶ρι⁶⁷ ογορ αρ⁶⁸τ⁶⁹ρη⁷⁰ρι
 πι⁷¹ψ⁷²ω⁷³τ⁷⁴ νψε μπε⁷⁵γκ⁷⁶υ⁷⁷νον
 αρ*⁷⁸ι⁷⁹νι⁸⁰ νογ⁸¹μ⁸²ω⁸³ογ⁸⁴ εβολ⁸⁵δ⁸⁶εν
 πι⁸⁷ω⁸⁸νι
 θα⁸⁹λα⁹⁰ς⁹¹σα⁹² αρ⁹³φ⁹⁴ω⁹⁵ρ⁹⁶χ⁹⁷ εβολ⁹⁸ ν⁹⁹χε
 μωγ¹⁰⁰ς¹⁰¹ς¹⁰² ¹⁰³δεν τε¹⁰⁴ρ¹⁰⁵βα¹⁰⁶κ¹⁰⁷τη¹⁰⁸ρια
 πε¹⁰⁹ρ¹¹⁰λα¹¹¹ος¹¹² αρ¹¹³β¹¹⁴ω¹¹⁵λ¹¹⁶ εβολ¹¹⁷δ¹¹⁸εν
 ογ¹¹⁹νι¹²⁰ω¹²¹τ¹²² να¹²³γ¹²⁴θεν¹²⁵τ¹²⁶α
 ια¹²⁷κ¹²⁸ω¹²⁹β¹³⁰ αρ¹³¹χ¹³²ω¹³³ ννε¹³⁴ρ¹³⁵χ¹³⁶ι¹³⁷χ
 νχ¹³⁸ω¹³⁹λε¹⁴⁰μ¹⁴¹ κα¹⁴²τα¹⁴³ π¹⁴⁴τ¹⁴⁵υ¹⁴⁶πο¹⁴⁷ς
 νογ¹⁴⁸ς¹⁴⁹ρ¹⁵⁰ς¹⁵¹ εχεν μα¹⁵²να¹⁵³ς¹⁵⁴ς¹⁵⁵ε¹⁵⁶ ν¹⁵⁷ε¹⁵⁸μ
 εφ¹⁵⁹ρε¹⁶⁰μ¹⁶¹ ογ¹⁶²μ¹⁶³ς¹⁶⁴τη¹⁶⁵ρι¹⁶⁶ον¹⁶⁷ α¹⁶⁸λη¹⁶⁹θ¹⁷⁰ος
 κο¹⁷¹ς¹⁷²τα¹⁷³ν¹⁷⁴τι¹⁷⁵νο¹⁷⁶ς¹⁷⁷ φα¹⁷⁸ πια¹⁷⁹ζι¹⁸⁰ω¹⁸¹μα
¹⁸²δεν πε¹⁸³ρ¹⁸⁴ζι¹⁸⁵νι¹⁸⁶μ¹⁸⁷ αρ¹⁸⁸να¹⁸⁹γ¹⁹⁰ κα¹⁹¹λ¹⁹²ω¹⁹³ς
¹⁹⁴δεν * ¹⁹⁵θ¹⁹⁶μη¹⁹⁷τ¹⁹⁸ μπι¹⁹⁹ς²⁰⁰τε²⁰¹ρε²⁰²ω²⁰³μα
 ογ²⁰⁴τ²⁰⁵υ²⁰⁶πο²⁰⁷ς²⁰⁸ ντε πι²⁰⁹ς²¹⁰ρ²¹¹ς²¹²
 λο²¹³ι²¹⁴πο²¹⁵ν²¹⁶ αρ²¹⁷ς²¹⁸ω²¹⁹τε²²⁰μ²²¹ εογ²²²δ²²³ρω²²⁴ογ
 ερ²²⁵χ²²⁶ω²²⁷ μ²²⁸μο²²⁹ς²³⁰ να²³¹γ²³² χε πογ²³³ρο²³⁴ βι
 να²³⁵κ²³⁶ μ²³⁷παι²³⁸μ²³⁹η²⁴⁰νι²⁴¹νι²⁴² ις²⁴³χ²⁴⁴εν²⁴⁵ φοογ
 ογορ εβολ²⁴⁶ζι²⁴⁷το²⁴⁸τ²⁴⁹γ²⁵⁰ χ²⁵¹να²⁵²β²⁵³ρο

For (He) tore the *previous* handwrit-
ing of our sins when he spread His
hands on the wood of *Cross*

For David testified: “say among the
nations that the Lord has reigned from
a Wood, He will judge *peoples*.³²

Therefore He made it a *weapon* since
the early *prophets* and in the end of
generations, a strength to the *ascetic*
(men)

Yes *also* Moses in the desert, from the
early *times*, lifted up the serpent³³ for
the salvation of his *people*

Behold, the staff of Aaron blossomed
and gave flowers.³⁴ The *almond* staff
which brought water from the rock³⁵

Moses had separated the *sea* with the
rod, his *people* were loosened with great
*authority*³⁶

Jacob put his hands quickly *as* the
sign of the *cross* over Manasseh and
Ephraim, *truly a mystery*³⁷

Constantine who had the *esteem*, in
his sleep he saw *well* in the midst of
the *firmament* the *sign* of the *cross*

Also he heard a voice saying to him:
“o king take this sign from today and
by which you will win.”

³¹ Read αρφω³¹.

³² Ps 95 [96]:10.

³³ Num. 21:9; Jn 3:14.

³⁴ Num. 17:8; Heb 9:4.

³⁵ Ex 17: 5–6.

³⁶ Ex 14:1–15.

³⁷ Gen. 48:14.

μαρενοῦωψτ μπικρς
 πιζοπλον ντε πιβρο
 εταγτηιϙ ννιχηστιανος
 ογορ αq† νωου μπιταχρο
 ντεντ'ωου επωηρι μφ†*
 φηεταγαωϙ ερρηι εχωϙ
 ογορ αq† μπικω†
 νννεθναωλι μμοϙ
 ξγλων ζωης ναταελοϙ
 ογμετσοx γαρ τε πε
 πεςμεγι παιρη† αχxος³⁸
 νxε παγλος xατεν
 νιανομος νατεμι
 ογορ xατοτεν xα νηετωνx
 νθος πε †χομ ντε φ†
 πιθρονος ντε φ† ετωνx
 ογορ πιμhini ντε πσω†
 πενσωτηρ ναγαθος xεν*
 πεφεγαγγελιον αρωω εβολ
 εϙxω μμοϙ ογορ αqταμο
 μμον
 ρωμι νιβεν εθναωλι
 μπεκρς εxεν τεϙναρβι
 ντεϙxω νσωϙ ννεϙωηρι
 νем τεϙсζιμι νем τεϙερβι
 ce ωντος ϙεμπωα μμοι
 xεν ογονοϙ νем ογταχρο
 ογορ ντεϙμοωι νcωι νρρηι
 xεν таμετογρο
 теноῦωψт μπεκρς пx̄c̄
 теnτ'ωου ντεκαναcтacic
 xε anон γαρ* πε πεκλαος
 теnнаρ†аbне cаннc
 ȳc̄ ēc̄ φηεταq†ma† εαλλι
 επ̄c̄ρς αq† νογμhini
 ννεϙμενρα† εθρογбρο
 επιπονηρος
 φαι πε πιραν νογxαι ντε
 пенбс̄ iñc̄ пx̄c̄ πεноγρο
 нем пеqоγωini εταqωαι
 псρς нреqтaннxо

Let us worship the *cross* the *weapon* of victory, which was given to the *Christian* and he gave them the firmness,

And we glorify the Son of God who was crucified on it and gave the salvation to all who will carry it

The tree of life without *vile* for its remembrance is foolish for the *lawless* without knowledge, as Paul said

And for us, the living, it is the power of God and the *throne* of the living God and the sign of salvation

Our *Good Saviour* in His *Gospel* said and informed us:

"All man who will take up his *cross* on his shoulder and leave his children, his wife and his enclosure (pen)

Yes also he is worthy of me with joy and firmness and he follows me in my kingdom³⁹

We worship your *Cross*, *Christ*, we glorify your *Resurrection* for we are your *people* we believe without doubt

Son of God, who was pleased to be hung on the *Cross* and gave sign to His beloved in order to overcome the *evil*.

This is the name of salvation of our Lord Jesus *Christ* our king and His light which shone: the life-giver *Cross*

³⁸ Read αqχος.

³⁹ Matt. 10:38; Mk 8:34; Lk 9:23.

<p> χερε νακ ω περ̄ε †λαχνια ννογυβ ν*χαχζ εταγχω μπῑδ̄ηβς ε̄ομεζ εχως μπιεζοογ νεμ πιεχωρζ ψωτηρ ντε πικомοc πωηρι μφ† πιλογοc δῑσι μптап ννιχριcтиανοc ζιτεν τχом мπεκ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄ ω φ̄ηετ̄δ̄εν̄ πιεζοογ мм̄αζ̄ ϛ̄ ᾱϣταcθ̄ο ντενεχμαλωcῑα νᾱρμετ̄ εβολ̄ζᾱ πιπετ̄ζωογ χω ν̄ηῑ εβολ̄ ν̄ν̄αν̄αν̄ομ̄ια * ε̄ωωп̄ αν̄ω̄αν̄ερ̄ψαλιν </p>	<p> <i>Hail to you o Cross, the lamp stand of the gnashing gold, which are put the lighting lamp on it day and night</i> </p> <p> <i>Saviour of the World the son of God, the Word, raise the horn of the Chris- tians through the power of Your Cross</i> </p> <p> O who in the sixth day, made to return our <i>slavery</i> save me from evil and for- give me my <i>transgression</i> </p> <p> Whenever we <i>sing</i> </p>
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Commentary

The author of this text except for the story of Constantine did not include any historical or literary quotation, however his text is full of biblical and liturgical quotations:

A. Biblical

There are direct quotations from the Scripture, which are said also in the None (ninth hour) of the Coptic Horologion:

Psali of the Cross	Ps 95 [96]:10
<p> ḁḁḁ γαρ ᾱϣερμε̄ορε̄ χε ᾱχοc δ̄εν̄ ν̄ιε̄θ̄νοc̄ χε̄ ᾱ π̄δ̄ε̄ ε̄ρογ̄ρο̄ ε̄βολ̄ ζῑ ο̄γ̄ωε̄..... ϣ̄να†ζαп̄ ε̄ζ̄αν̄λᾱοc̄ <i>For David testified: "say among the nations that the Lord has reigned from a Wood, He will judge peoples.</i> </p>	<p> ᾱχοc δ̄εν̄ ν̄ιε̄θ̄νοc̄ χε̄ ᾱ π̄δ̄ε̄ ε̄ρογ̄ρο̄ ε̄βολ̄ζῑ ο̄γ̄ωε̄..... ϣ̄να†ζαп̄ ε̄ζ̄αν̄λᾱοc̄ <i>"Say among the nations: The Lord has reigned from a Wood...He judge to peoples</i> </p>

It is important to mention that it is only Christian manuscripts and especially liturgical ones which added "reigned from a Wood."

The other type of quotation gives the meaning without respecting the wording of the Bible. We will compare some examples of the biblical text with the text of the psali in order to highlight this fact:

Psali of the Cross	Numbers 21:8–9 ⁴⁰	John 3:14–15
<p> ΖΕ ΩΝΤΟΣ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΖΙ ΠΩΔΕ ΙΣΧΕΝ ΨΟΡΠ ΝΝΙΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΑΦΩΛΙ ΝΟΥΖΟΦ ΕΧΕΝ ΟΥΨΕ ΕΘΒΕ ΦΝΟΖΕΜ ΜΠΕΦΛΑΟΣ </p> <p>Yes <i>also</i> Moses in the desert, from the early times, lifted up the serpent⁴¹ for the salvation of his <i>people</i></p>	<p> ΠΕΧΕ ΠΒΟΙΣ ΜΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΧΕ ΜΑΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΖΟΦ ΝΖΟΜΤ ΟΥΟΖ ΧΑΦ Ζ ΟΥΜΗΝΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΣΕΨΩΠΘ ΑΡΕΨΑΝ ΠΙΖΟΦ ΒΙ ΛΑΠΣΙ ΕΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΦΕΧΟΥΨΤ ΕΠΙΖΟΦ ΝΖΟΜΤ ΕΦΕΩΝΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΧΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΜΙΖΟΦ ΑΦΤΑΖΟΦ ΖΙ ΟΥΜΗΝΙ. </p> <p>The Lord said to Moses: “Make a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole; that every one that is bitten, when he looks upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it on a pole</p>	<p> ΟΥΟΖ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΕΤΑ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΒΕΣ ΠΙΖΟΦ ΝΖΡΗ ΖΙ ΠΩΔΕ ΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΖΩΤ ΠΕ ΝΤΟΥΒΕΣ ΠΨΗΡΙ ΜΦΡΩΜΙ ΖΙΝΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΖΤΕΡΟΦ ΝΤΕΦΒΙ ΜΠΙΩΝΣ ΝΕΝΕΖ </p> <p>And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up <i>That</i> whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.</p>

While the verb “lift up” in the psali is **ΩΛΙ ΕΧΕΝ**, in the book of Numbers it is **ΧΑ** and **ΤΑΖΟ**, and in the Gospel of John it is **ΒΕΣ**.

Psali of the Cross	Numbers 17:9 ⁴²
<p> ΗΠΠΕ ΠΨΩΒΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΑΦΦΙΡΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΤΖΡΗΡΙ ΠΨΩΒΩΤ ΝΨΕ ΜΠΕΥΚΥΝΟΝ ΑΡΙΝΙ ΝΟΥΜΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ ΠΙΩΝΙ </p>	<p> ΟΥΟΖ ΙΣ ΠΨΩΒΩΤ ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΑΦΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝ ΠΗΙ ΝΛΕΥΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΕΝ ΦΙΗ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΦΕΡΖΡΗΡΙ⁴³ </p>

⁴⁰ De Lagarde 1967, pp. 369–370.

⁴¹ Num. 21:9; Jn 3:14.

⁴² De Lagarde 1967, p. 360.

⁴³ Cf. also Heb 9:4 **ΝΕΜ ΠΨΩΒΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΕΤΑΦΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ**

Behold, the staff of Aaron blossomed and gave flowers. The <i>almond</i> staff which brought water from the rock	And behold the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds and bloomed blossoms. Heb 9:4 and Aaron's rod that budded,
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Psali of the Cross	Gen. 48:14
<p>ΙΑΚΩΒ ΔΕΧΩ ΝΝΕΦΧΙΧ ΝΧΩΛΕΜ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΤΥΠΟC ΝΟΥCΡC ΕΧΕΝ ΜΑΝΑCCE ΝΕΜ ΕΦΡΕΜ ΟΥΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΛΗΘΟC</p> <p>Jacob put his hands quickly <i>as</i> the <i>sign</i> of the <i>cross</i> over Manasseh and Ephraim, <i>truly a mystery</i></p>	<p>Α ΠΙCΡΑΗΛ ΔΕ CΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΕΦΧΙΧ ΝΟΥΙΝΑΜ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΑΦΕ ΝΕΦΡΕΜ ΟΥΟZ ΤΕΦΧΑΒΗ ΑΦΤΑΛΟC ΕΧΕΝ ΤΑΦΕ ΜΜΑΝΑCΗ ΕΑΦΩΕΒ† ΝΕΦΧΙΧ</p> <p>Israel stretched his right hand on the head of Ephraim and he put his left on the head of Manasseh guiding his hands</p>

Psali of the Cross	I Corinthians 1:18
<p>ΞΥΛΩΝ ΖΩΗC ΝΑΤΔΕΛΟC <u>ΟΥΜΕΤCΟΧ</u> ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΕCΜΕΥΙ ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΑΥΧΟC⁴⁴ ΝΧΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΞΑΤΕΝ ΝΙΑΝΟΜΟC ΝΑΤΕΜΙ ΟΥΟZ ΞΑΤΟΤΕΝ ΞΑ ΝΗΕΤΩΝΞ ΝΘΟC ΠΕ †ΧΟΜ ΝΤΕ Φ† ΠΙΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΤΕ Φ† ΕΤΩΝΞ ΟΥΟZ ΠΙΜΗΙΝΙ ΝΤΕ ΠCΩ†</p> <p>The tree of life <i>without</i> vile for <i>its</i> remembrance is <i>foolish as Paul said</i></p> <p>And for us, the living, it is the power of God and the <i>throne</i> of the living God and the sign of salvation</p>	<p>ΠΙCΑΧΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ ΠΙCΡC̄ ΝΤΕΝ ΝΗ ΜΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΤΑΚΟ <u>ΟΥΜΕΤCΟΧ</u> ΠΕ ΝΑΝΑ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΞΑ ΝΗΕΘΝΟΖΕΜ ΝΤΕ Φ† ΠΕ</p> <p>For the preaching of the <i>cross</i> is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.</p>

⁴⁴ Read ΔΦΧΟC.

B. Liturgical

Psali of the Cross	Psali of the Three Young Men
<p>ΑΡΙΨΑΛΙΝ ΕΦΗΕΤΑΥΑΥΩ ΞΕΝ ΠΕΘΟΥΩ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ Sing unto who was crucified with His own will,</p>	<p>ΑΡΙΨΑΛΙΝ ΕΦΗΕΤΑΥΑΥΩ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΟΥΟZ ΑΥΚΟCQ <u>Sing unto who was crucified</u> for us and was buried</p>

Psali of the Cross	Troparion of the Sext ⁴⁵
<p>ΓΕ ΓΑΡ ΦΩΞ ΜΠΙCΞΕ ΝΧΙΧ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΒΙ ΝΑΡΧΕΟC ΕΤΑQΦΩΡΩ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΝΝΕQΧΙΧ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΩΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙCΡC <i>For (He) tore the previous handwriting of our sins when he spread His hands on the wood of Cross</i> Ω ΦΗΕΤΞΕΝ ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΜΑΖ Ξ <i>O who in the sixth day, ...</i></p>	<p>ΕΘΒΕ ΦΝΟΒΙ ΕΤΑQΕΡΤΟΛΜΑΝ ΕΡΟQ ΝΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΞΕΝ ΠΙΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΦΩΞ ΜΠΙCΞΕ ΝΧΙΧ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΒΙ Because of the sin which Adam <i>dared</i> (to commit) in the <i>Paradise</i>, <i>tear up</i> <i>the handwriting of our sins</i>, Ω ΦΗΕΤΞΕΝ ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΜΑΖ Ξ... <i>O who in the sixth day</i></p>

Psali of the Cross	Psali of Friday
<p>ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΡΑΝ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΘC ΙΗC ΠΧC ΠΕΝΟΥΡΟ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΘΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΕΤΑQΩΑΙ ΠCΡC ΝΡΕQΤΑΝΝΞΟ <i>This is the name of salvation of our Lord Jesus Christ our king and His light which shone: the life-giving Cross</i></p>	<p>ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΡΑΝ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΘC ΙΗC ΠΧC ΝΕΜ ΠΕQCΤΑΥΡΑΡΟC ΝΡΕQΤΑΝΞΟ ΦΗΕΤΑΥΑΥΩ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΩQ <i>This is the name of salvation of our Lord Jesus Christ and his life-giving Cross, which he was crucified upon.</i></p>

Psali of the Cross	The Second Lobsh of Saturday
<p>ΗΠΠΕ ΠΙΩΒΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΑΑΡΩΝ ΑQΦΙΡΙ ΟΥΟZ ΑQΤΖΡΗΡΙ ΠΙΩΒΩΤ ΝΩΕ ΜΠΕΥΚΥΝΟΝ ΑQΙΝΙ ΝΟΥΜΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛΞΕΝ ΠΙΩΝΙ</p>	<p>ΧΕΡΕ ΠΙCΤΑΜΝΟC ΝΝΟΥΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΙΜΑΝΝΑ ΖΗΠ ΝΞΗΤQ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΩΒΩΤ ΝΩΕ ΜΠΕΥΚΥΝΟΝ ΕΤΑ ΜΩΥCΗC ΜΕΩΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΞΗΤQ</p>

⁴⁵ Burmester 1973, p. 57 (text), p. 174 (translation).

Behold, the staff of Aaron blossomed and gave flowers. <u>The almond staff</u> <u>which</u> brought water from the rock	<i>Hail</i> to you o golden <i>vessel</i> wherein the <i>manna</i> was <i>hidden</i> and the <i>almond</i> <u>wooden</u> rod which Moses the hit <i>rock</i>
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It seems that the author of this psali was a monk, who had good knowledge of the Scripture and the liturgy. He made a discreet allusion showing that the Cross is the strength of the ascetic:

ΕΘΒΕ ΦΑΙ ΑΓΑΙΩ ΝΟΥ*ΖΟΠΛΟΝ ΙΣΧΕΝ ΨΟΡΠ ΝΝΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΞΕΝ ΤΞΑΕ ΝΝΙΕΩΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΝΙΑΣΚΥΤΗ	Therefore He made it a <i>weapon</i> since the early <i>prophets</i> and in the end of <i>generations</i> , a strength to the <i>ascetic</i> (men)
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And apparently this author lived in difficult times, as it is apparent from this stanza:

ΨΩΤΗΡ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΟΜΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΜΦ† ΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΒΙCΙ ΜΠΤΑΠ ΝΝΙΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤΧΟΜ ΜΠΕΚϸ̅ϸ̅	<i>Saviour of the World</i> the son of God, the <i>Word</i> , raise the horn of the <i>Christians</i> through the power of Your <i>Cross</i>
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Conclusion

Whereas in the first psali Adam we find many patristic quotations, such as the homilies of Athanasius of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem and the legend of Constantine, in addition to the biblical and liturgical quotations, the second psali has only the two free quotations perhaps due to oral sources. The second psali mentions the ascetic life, implying that the author was a monk.

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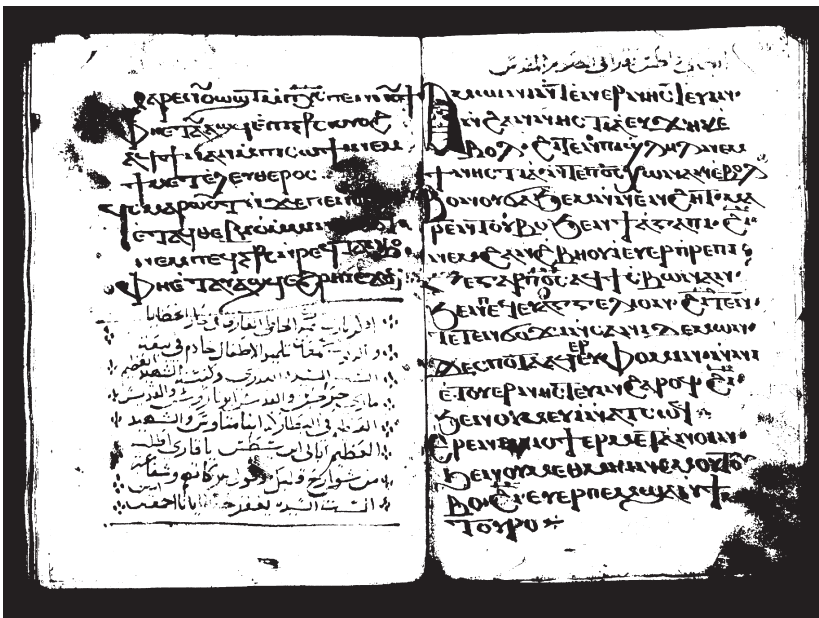
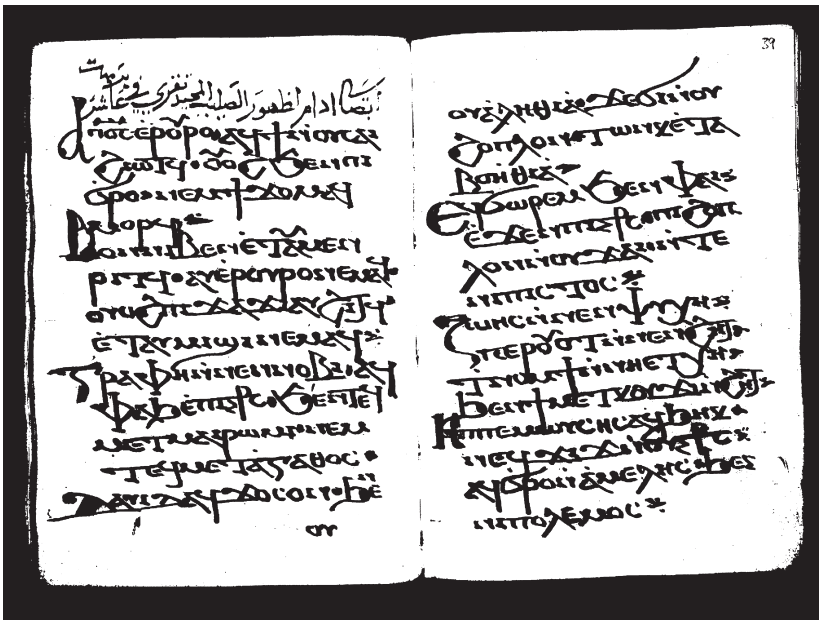
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Link between Joshua Bin Nun and 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib

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Abstract

*This article deals with some aspects of the link between Joshua (Jeshua) Bin Nun and 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, as reflected in the canonical writings of the Shī'a Islam, which include commentaries on the Qur'ān and the interpretations that proliferated around them, as well as Ḥadīth literature. The Shī'ite writers were influenced by the history of Joshua's life and selected certain details from it for adaptation to the life of 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib, clothing them in Shī'ite dress with the aim of giving 'Alī an aspect of holiness and also of showing that both 'Alī and Joshua belonged to those chosen men of high quality, and that the tradition of inheritance to the prophet has existed since ancient times, before the appearance of Shī'ism on the stage of history, so as to give legitimacy to the doctrine of inheritance among the Shī'a.**

M. Cook believes that it is possible to discover Jewish influences on the schools of Muslim religious law that developed in Iraq, especially on the Imāmiyya Shī'ites,¹ and on this basis one can understand some of the similarities that the Shī'a adapted from the qualities of Joshua as found in Jewish traditions and applied to 'Alī. One of the ways which the Shī'a² employed in

* This article is an expanded version of a lecture I delivered at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at the Nehemiah Levezon Center for Islamic Research, on 26 April 2006, in the framework of the conference on 'Sufism in Israel/Palestine, Past and Present'.

¹ Cook, 1986, pp. 260–270.

² The term Shī'a and Shī'ites in this article refer to the Imāmiyya Shī'a, who are also called the Twelvers (Ithnā 'Ashariyya).

order to transform the image of 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib (661 CE) into that of a holy person was to promote the link between him and Joshua Bin Nun.

The question arises as to how it was possible to find resemblances between two historical characters that seem so different from each other, between 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib, the cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and his son-in-law, who is the central character in Shī'a faith, and Joshua Bin Nun, the servant and inheritor of Moses.

The Shī'ites link Joshua to 'Alī because both of them are chosen men of high quality who are legendary characters. The Shī'ites believe that 'Alī is the foremost among those who continue in the line of prophecy, and they stress the continuity of prophecy in order to transfer the legacy, *waṣīyya*, between the prophets and after them from 'Imām to 'Imām in a continuous chain. Listed among those prophets were Noah, Hod, Abraham (Ibrāhīm), Moses (Mūsā), and others. The legacy was passed down in continuous sequence through the inheritors, *'awṣiyā'*, of the prophets, among whom were listed Seth, Amran (Amram), Shu'ayb (Jethro), Zakhariyyā (Zecharia), Jeshua (Joshua), and 'Alī.

According to the Shī'a, Joshua is considered the inheritor who received the legacy of Moses, just as 'Alī received the legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad. Both 'Alī and Joshua are therefore the inheritors of prophets who are considered chosen men of high quality who are of legendary character. The Shī'ites selected certain details of the lives of Joshua the Jew and 'Alī the Muslim and mentioned them in their treatises, adapting them for their readers by clothing them in Shī'ite dress, in order to stress the holy character of 'Alī.

In my opinion, an additional reason for the Shī'ites' choice of Joshua the inheritor of Moses as the character linked with 'Alī, is that during the period of Joshua, God delivered the Children of Israel from Egypt. The Shī'a were influenced by this story of deliverance, which became a source of inspiration for the future. The Shī'ites identified with the people of Israel as a persecuted minority, whose history of suffering was a forecast and symbol for the future of the Shī'ites. Just as their predecessors, the Children of Israel in Egypt, had suffered under Pharaoh and were redeemed, so did their situation improve during the period of 'Alī.

'Alī was the inheritor of the Prophet Muḥammad just as Joshua was the inheritor of Moses, and both of them were gifted with the same qualities. During their lifetimes their people suffered under rulers and both of them brought redemption to their supporters in the community. In addition, it could be seen that the doctrine of the inheritor had existed since ancient times and the Shī'a was a continuation of this legacy. The Shī'ites went

back thousands of years to show that the roots of Shī'ism were to be found in the distant past, from the times of Joshua and before Shī'ism appeared on the stage of history, in order to prove that the Shī'a had been in existence since ancient days. All this was to give legitimacy to the doctrine and to the Shī'a in general, so as to prove its antiquity³ and that the Shī'a were not a new sect as people generally thought.

The main principle regarding the resemblances between Joshua and 'Alī is that a comparative examination of early Shī'ite traditions with Midrashic literature and extracts from Talmudic lore may expose many Israelite traditions that were not formerly regarded as such by researchers,⁴ and that found their way into Islam in the early period of its formation. It is commonly accepted to consider the groups of Jewish converts to Islam, mainly of the generation of Muḥammad, as the channel through which these traditions entered Islam.⁵

The Islamic sages were divided over the question of the necessity or value of keeping these traditions, but it seems that the view that began to prevail amongst them, as shown by M. I. Kister, was that there was no harm in allowing Muslim scholars to draw upon Jewish traditions.⁶ In any case, the compilers of Qur'ān commentaries and *Hadīth* collections were influenced by material of this kind.

Whether their Jewish origins were clearly visible or were incorporated within them, much of this kind of material was collected in treatises of the literary genre of "Tales of the Prophets" (*Qīṣaṣ al-'Anbiyā'*), consisting mainly of adaptations of rabbinical Midrashim (homiletics) about the biblical prophets. It should be noted that there are traces of Midrashim and sayings from Talmudic literature not only in commentaries on the Qur'ān and in *Hadīth* literature and "Tales of the Prophets," but also within the text of the Qur'ān itself, a well-known fact that cannot be elaborated here.

A selection of Shī'ite traditions and sayings that have a Jewish impress upon them were collected by G. Vajda.⁷ He came to the conclusion that

³ This idea of the Shī'a seeing itself as an ancient religion is a central one for the Shī'ites and has even been discussed in various studies: see, for example, Kohlberg 1980, pp. 133–160.

⁴ Compare Heinemann 1974, pp. 181–199 and notes on p. 243; see also Lazarus-Yafeh 1992, pp. 23, 105, and 119 n. 29.

⁵ On these traditions and the attitude of Islamic sages towards inheritor usage, see Goitein (1935, pp. 89–101).

⁶ Kister 1972, pp. 215–239.

⁷ For details, see Vajda 1981, pp. 45–53.

most of the sayings that he had collected from the Shī'ite treatise "al-Khāfi" by al-Kulaynī (d. 941), and which had their possible sources in Talmudic literature, also have parallels in outstanding Sunni treatises.

Many Jewish Midrashim have been taken into Shī'ite sources, including numerous exegetical accounts of the story of Joshua, which echo well-known Midrashim. However, the fact that these traditions were found in Shī'ite treatises does not imply that they were the well-known traditions that researchers dealing with *Isra'īliyyāt*, such as A. Geiger, I. Goldziher, H. Speyer and others, were concerned with. There remains important material that is still embedded in ancient texts. In some cases this can be explained by ignorance of the texts, and in other cases the reason is that the Jewish origin is not clearly seen.

In a thorough examination that I made of Shī'ite sources, I found that the Shī'ā stress a number of common traits between Joshua and 'Alī, apparently taken from Shī'ites who were influenced by the history of Joshua's life and chose certain details which they introduced into their treatises and adapted for their readers by clothing them in Shī'ite dress in order to give 'Alī the character of a holy man, the descendant of a holy family.

Resemblances between Joshua and 'Alī

1. *Common name*

According to the fifth Twelver imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 732), 'Alī had many names, and one of them was Jeshua, a name well known among the philosophers.⁸

2. *Appointment as inheritors ('awṣiyā') of the prophets*

The same Muḥammad al-Bāqir relates that Moses called Joshua Bin Nun and appointed him as his inheritor, but asked him to keep this a secret. The Prophet Muḥammad also appointed 'Alī as his inheritor.⁹

⁸ Ibn Shahrāshūb 1959, 3:276.

⁹ Al-Astarābadī 1988, 3:158; Al-Kulaynī 1946, 1:293 no. 3, 8:117 no. 91; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1992, 4:176 no. 5402; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1983, p. 402 no. 3; Al-Ṭūsī 1993, p. 442 no. 48–991; Al-Ṭabarī 1963, pp. 82–83; Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:858; Al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī 1983, p. 99 no. 8; Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 2:41, 44, 153; Ibn Shādhān 1943, p. 98; Al-Rāwandī 1988b, 371; Al-Khazzāz 1980, p. 146; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1975, 1:26, 21; Ibn Shahrāshūb 1959, 1:251.

3. *Date of appointment for inheritors of the prophets*

Muḥammad al-Bāqir also notes that 'Alī and Joshua were appointed as inheritors to the prophets on the 18th of Dhū al-Hijja.¹⁰ 'Alī's appointment as the inheritor to the Prophet was on the same day as Joshua.¹¹

4. *Age of those appointed as inheritors to the prophets*

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661) relates that Moses was commanded to appoint Joshua as his inheritor when Joshua was seven years old,¹² and the Prophet Muḥammad also appointed 'Alī as his inheritor when 'Alī was 10 years old or less.¹³ This means that God had predetermined who would be the inheritors of each prophet, and that the prophet was told by God who would be his inheritor and to appoint him already from his childhood.

5. *Period of service as inheritors to the prophets*

'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 653) notes that 'Alī served as inheritor to the Prophet Muḥammad for 30 years after his death, and that Joshua also served for 30 years as the inheritor to the Prophet Moses.¹⁴

¹⁰ It should be noted that the Shī'ites mark this day as blessed and holy, and ascribe to it other important events that they claim occurred on that day, such as Moses crossing the Red Sea, God's rescue of Abraham from the fire, Jesus' appointment of Simon Peter/Simon Cephas (Sham'un al-Ṣafā), as his inheritor, Solomon's appointment of 'Aṣaf as his inheritor, and the night journey of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to Sunni sources the night journey took place on the 17th of Ramadan before Muhammad migrated from Mecca to Medina. Another view is that the night journey of Muhammad took place on the 17th of Rabi' al-Awwal, and a third view is that the night journey took place on the 27th of Rajab: for details, see Ibn al-Jawzī 1988, pp. 221–222. The aim of the Shī'ites here is to show that this date is a holy one that was intended for important events that happened to the prophets or inheritors. Apparently the Shī'ites attribute a high standing and praise to this day that is associated with periods that are much earlier than the existence of the Shi'a, and this high standing was attributed to it after the appointment of 'Alī as the inheritor of the Prophet on the 18th of Dhū al-Hijja in the 10th year of the Hejira in Ghadir Khumm; before this date it had no special standing, but retrospectively, the Shī'ites gave it a high standing in order to give legitimacy to the Shi'a and to claim that the Shi'a had existed since ancient times.

¹¹ Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:316; Al-Hillī 1987, pp. 200–201; Al-Ka'fāmī 1984, pp. 513, 698, 756; Al-Mufid 1992a, p. 41; Al-Mufid 1992b, p. 312.

¹² According to Jewish sources, Joshua was appointed by Moses as his inheritor when he was 40 years old and not at the age of seven as the Shī'ites claim (for details see Josephus 1967, 156:1). It seems to me that the Shī'ites changed the age of Joshua's appointment as inheritor in order to bring it closer to the age at which 'Alī was appointed so as to create a link between them.

¹³ Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:888; Al-Ṭabarsī 1982, 1:255; Al-'Ayyāshī 1960 p. 330 no. 42; Furāt 1989, p. 183 nos. 183–235.

¹⁴ Al-Ṭabarī 1963, p. 277; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1975, 1: 27; Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:934; Al-Fattāl 1966, 1:138; Al-Rāwandī 1988b, p. 176. Sunni sources are divided with regard to the

6. *Date of their death*

The sixth imam, Ja'far al-Šādiq (d. 765), related that 'Alī was killed with the sword of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muljam (d. 661 CE) on the 21st of Ramadān in the 40th year of the Hejira. And Shī'ite sources note that on the same day of the month Joshua Bin Nun died,¹⁵ by which they mean to say that the inheritors of the prophets died on the same date.¹⁶

7. *Wives of the prophets rebel against them*

It is told in the name of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 653) that Zipporah, the wife of Moses (daughter of Jethro/Shu'ayb) rebelled against Joshua and went against him claiming her right to rule after the death of Moses. She claimed that she was more suitable than he to rule. Joshua fought against her and won, and took her captive. She was treated well during her captivity and then released. The same thing happened to 'Alī when he was appointed Caliph in 656 CE. The wife of the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Ā'isha, daughter of the Caliph 'Abū Bakr, rebelled against 'Alī together with a thousand supporters and led the battle of Jamal (557 CE) against him. 'Alī won and 'Ā'isha was captured,¹⁷ and 'Alī also treated her well and released her. Other Shī'ite sources add that the Prophet knew before his death that his wife 'Ā'isha would rebel against 'Alī, and he warned her not to do so.

8. *Nature weeping over the death of Joshua and 'Alī*

Ja'far al-Šādiq related that, on the day Joshua died and the day on which 'Alī was murdered, under every stone on the face of the earth that was

period of service by Joshua as the inheritor for 27 years. See for example Ibn al-Athīr who claims that this period was 27 years: for details see Ibn al-'Athīr (2004, 1:176); while Al-Kisā'i (1923, 2:242) claims that the period was 40 years.

¹⁵ Ibn Qūlawayh 1977, p. 76 no. 1; Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:88; Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd 1967, 16:30; Ibn Sharāshūb 1959, 3:313; Al-Mufīd 1992c, 2:8; Al-Ṭabarsī 1970, p. 208; Ibn Bābawayh al-Šadūq 1983, p. 319 no. 4; Al-'Irbillī 1961, 1:532; Al-Ḥillī 1987, p. 234.

¹⁶ The Shī'ites also note that the night journey of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascent to heaven took place on that same date. However, Sunni Islam sources are in disagreement about the date of the night journey of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to them this took place on the 17th of Ramadān before the migration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina. There is also another view that claims the night journey took place on the 17th of Rabī' Awwal, and a third opinion is that it took place on the 27th of Rajab (for details see Ibn al-Jawzī, 1988, pp. 221–222). On that same day Jesus ascended to heaven; Moses ben Amram also died on that same date. The aim of the Shī'ites is to show that this date is holy and that important events associated with the prophets or inheritors took place on it.

¹⁷ Al-Ṭabarsī 1963, p. 277; Ibn Bābawayh al-Šadūq 1975, 1:27; Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:934; 1988b, 176.

turned over fresh blood was revealed throughout the night until dawn.¹⁸ The aim of the Shī'ites here is to prove that the position and piety of 'Alī and Joshua were so great that God changed the order of nature when they were killed, and also to raise the status of 'Alī to that of Joshua.

9. *Twelve tribes and twelve imams*

Among the points of linkage noted by the Shī'ites (in the Prophet's name) between Joshua and 'Alī is the number of the tribes of Israel and the number of Shī'ite imams. There were twelve tribes of Israel, the first one being that of Joshua, while the Shī'ite imams (Imāmiya Shī'a) were also twelve in number, and 'Alī was the first of the chain of imams.¹⁹ Thus both Joshua and 'Alī were the first among the twelve tribes and imams.

10. *Supporters of Joshua and 'Alī are members of the true sect*

According to Shī'ite sources, the Prophet claimed that the Jewish were divided into 71 sects, 70 destined for hell and one sect destined for paradise — this is the sect that adhered to and followed the way of Joshua Bin Nun. In Shī'a Islam there is a tradition that says that the Muslim nation was divided into 73 sects; 72 will be in hell and one in paradise, the sect that follows the way of the inheritor to the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Alī.²⁰ The aim of this tradition is to show that the way of Joshua and 'Alī is the true and just way, that each of them leads his congregation in the right way and continues the way of the prophet. Joshua and 'Alī both continue the way of the true religion, Joshua in the way of Moses and 'Alī in the way of the Prophet Muḥammad.

11. *Meeting between Joshua and 'Alī*

In spite of the large gap in historical time and place between Joshua and 'Alī, the Shī'ite sources quote 'Abāya al-Asadī²¹ to the effect that 'Alī met

¹⁸ Ibn Qūlawayh 1977, p. 76 no. 1; Al-Rāwandī 1988b, p. 143 no. 155; Al-Jazā'irī 1984, p. 419.

It should be noted that this motif — the covering up of fresh blood by stones and rocks on the day of murder — is a motif found in Shī'ite literature that relates the murders of 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib and the murder of his son Husayn Ibn Ali. For details, see Sindawi 2000, p. 207 n. 3.

¹⁹ Al-Nīlī 1980, p. 69.

²⁰ Al-Ṭūsī 1993, pp. 523–524 nos. 1159–1166; Al-Ṭabarī 1963, p. 216; Ibn Qays 1994, p. 803.

²¹ His full name: 'Abāya b. Rab'ī al-Asadī, a companion of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥasan; he transmitted only a few *ḥadīths*. For more on him see al-Barqī 1963, 5.

Joshua. Joshua was revealed to 'Alī when he was on his way northwards to Siffin and crossed the Euphrates River. The mountain opposite him broke open and a man with white hair appeared, saying he was Joshua.²² The aim here was to say that God causes the inheritors of the prophets to meet each other in spite of the great historical distance between them. 'Alī's meeting with Joshua when he crossed the river recalled for Shi'ites the story of Joshua crossing the Jordan, and they saw here a suitable place for the meeting between these two figures.

Similar personal qualities

a. Removal of a large rock over a fountain of water originating in paradise

Sahl b. Ḥunayf²³ (d. 658) relates that Joshua and 'Alī at different times had each overturned a large rock and moved it aside to reveal a fountain of water with its source in paradise and allow his soldiers to drink from it. In Shi'ite tradition the story told about 'Alī is that during the battle in Siffin on the Euphrates (657 CE) his soldiers were thirsty and complained to him. 'Alī then went to a certain place as if he knew it earlier, and asked his men to dig there. They dug until they found a large rock, but could not remove it. Then 'Alī smiled, bent over the rock, overturned it, and removed it with one hand as if the rock were a ball in his hand. Suddenly, from under the rock, a fountain of pure sweet water burst up, sparkling more than silver, and all his soldiers drank and satisfied their thirst and filled their water bottles. Afterwards 'Alī replaced the rock and covered it with earth as it was before the digging.

This miracle took place before the eyes of a Christian monk who became a Muslim immediately after seeing what 'Alī had done and declared that 'Alī was indeed the inheritor of the Prophet Muḥammad. 'Alī then asked him how he identified him as the inheritor of the Prophet and the monk answered that he knew this from his father, and his father knew it from his forefathers since the days of the prophet Joshua Bin Nun, the inheritor of Moses. The monk added that his forefathers related that when Joshua Bin Nun fought the Amalekites 40 years after the death of Moses, he passed

²² Al-Rāwandī 1988a, 2:820.

²³ His full name: Sahl b. Ḥunayf b. Wahb al-Anṣārī al-Awsī Abū Sa'd, a Companion of the Prophet. He was present at the battle of Badr and the Prophet encouraged the relationship between him and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He died in al-Kūfa. Forty *ḥadīth*s are related in his name in books of *ḥadīth*: see al-Zirkilī 1986, 3:142.

this same place (Ṣiffīn) and his soldiers who were thirsty complained to him. Joshua then told his soldiers: "I swear to you that there is a fountain of water nearby that was brought down from paradise and Adam was the first to discover this fountain." Joshua then got up and overturned a large rock and moved it aside, and a fountain of water burst out. All the soldiers drank from this fountain and filled their bottles, and then Joshua commanded them to return the rock to its place and cover the fountain. He said to his soldiers: "Know that this rock cannot be overturned or moved except by a prophet or the inheritor of a prophet." After he spoke, a group of his soldiers tried to overturn the rock in vain. "After this," added the Christian monk, "the monastery in which I now live was built near this rock." He then told 'Alī: "Know, O 'Alī, when you overturned this rock I knew for a certainty that you are the inheritor of the Prophet Muḥammad. The monk who had converted to Islam then joined the soldiers of 'Alī and fought with them and died in the battle of Nahrawān (658 CE), one of the tributaries of the Tigris, that took place between 'Alī and the Khārījites."²⁴

From this tradition we see that 'Alī was gifted with supernatural powers as an imam. A Shī'ite imam has magical powers and mythical abilities such as seeing things that ordinary people cannot see. 'Alī saw the fountain of water under the rock, knew things that other people could not know. The conversion to Islam of the Christian monk through 'Alī and his recognition of 'Alī as the inheritor of the Prophet came as a result of his recognition that 'Alī was the imam who had inherited miraculous powers. It is as though the Shī'ites want to say that even a monk who was a religious Christian recognised the position of 'Alī as the imam and the inheritor of the Prophet, while some of the Muslims do not recognise him as such.

What is of greater interest to us here is that the Shī'ites create a link between 'Alī and Joshua and that both of them were gifted with similar qualities — since they were both inheritors of prophets — and when they passed the same place they saw and knew what was hidden. They had supernatural powers and were capable of carrying and moving a very large rock that other people could not move. The miracles that they performed were typical of holy men and emphasised the esteem and honour granted to them by God. God granted them wonderful power and gave them the gift of prophecy.

In my view, the aim of the Shī'ites here is not only to raise the status of 'Alī to the position of prophet or inheritor to the prophet, but to show that the idea of inheritance, that 'Alī inherited the position of the Prophet, is

²⁴ Al-Daylamī 1991, 2:372.

well known since ancient times — from the days of Joshua — and is not something new that was invented by the Shī'a. All this was with the aim of giving legitimacy to the principle of the heritage of 'Alī.

b. Joshua and 'Alī punish the heretics in the same manner

It is told in the name of the sixth imam, Ja'far al-Šādiq (d. 765), that after the death of Moses, a group of men came to Joshua. These men believed in one God but did not recognise that Moses was the messenger of God. Joshua then dug two pits near each other and connected them with a large door. He then placed the group of men in one of the pits and lit a fire in the second pit. He asked them to believe that Moses was indeed the messenger of God. When they refused, he left them in the pit until they were smothered and died of the smoke. 'Alī used the same method of punishment for a group of men who believed in one God but did not believe in the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. 'Alī punished them in the same way as Joshua did the unbelievers.²⁵

From this tradition we learn that 'Alī knew about Joshua, and that he was of the same standing as Joshua and tried to copy his behaviour in punishing the men. The aim of the Shī'ite authors here was to show that the inheritors of the prophets were similar in their qualities and in much of their behaviour, and that God apparently wanted this to be so.

c. Joshua and 'Alī as being the most knowledgeable of their time

Joshua is described in the name of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (d. 687) as possessing the greatest amount of knowledge (*'a'lam al-nās*) of all the people of Israel in his time. 'Alī is also described as having the most knowledge of all the believers of his time.²⁶

d. Joshua and 'Alī are the first believers in the prophets

According to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Joshua was the first to believe in the prophecy of Moses, and 'Alī was also the first to believe in the prophecy of the Prophet Muḥammad.²⁷

²⁵ Al-Kulaynī 1946, 4:182–183 no. 7, quoted by Ibn Shahrāshūb 1959, 2:256; Al-Ḥurr Al-'Āmilī 1988, 10:250 no. 13336, 23:269 no. 29548.

²⁶ Al-Ḥillī 1990, p. 451.

²⁷ Al-Astarābadī 1988, 619; Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd 1967, 13: 225; Al-Ḥaskānī 1990, 2:292 no. 924, 2:297 no. 931; Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 3:158; Ibn Ṭāwūs 1979, 1:20 no. 20; Ibn al-Bīṭrīq

e. Resemblance made by the Prophet Muḥammad between 'Alī and Joshua

In order to remind believers that 'Alī resembled Joshua, the Shī'ites ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad many traditions in which he says that 'Alī is the Joshua of this people.²⁸ In one place the Prophet says to 'Alī: "Your position in relation to me is like the position of Aaron in relation to Moses."²⁹ This tradition is known as the tradition of value (*ḥadīth al-manẓila*), which is so called because of its determination of the value of the Prophet in comparison with 'Alī.³⁰

f. Reversal of the sun and stopping it by Joshua and 'Alī

Among the miracles ascribed to Joshua and 'Alī is the miracle of reversing the path of the sun after it has set and stopping it. The aim of the Shī'ites here is to say that Joshua and 'Alī are exceptional people whose requests are answered by God, even if they go against the laws of nature.

Asmā' bint 'Umays³¹ (d. 661) and Juwayriyya b. Mushir al-'Abdī³² relate that at the battle of Gibeon, when the enemy was fleeing from the Israelites on the slopes of Beth Horon, the day was already ending and victory was not yet won. Joshua commanded the sun to stop and so it did. In another instance, Joshua reversed the path of the sun and recited the afternoon *Minha* prayer he had missed.³³ On numerous occasions 'Alī also reversed the path of the sun that was setting. During the battle of Nahrawān (658 CE), the time for prayer arrived and 'Alī was busy fighting. The sun had set, so 'Alī rose and purified his body and spoke incomprehensible words, perhaps in Hebrew. He then called upon his men to pray, and suddenly the sun returned and appeared beyond two mountains, so that 'Alī and his men

1986, p. 65 no. 77; Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā 1992, p. 260; Al-'Irbillī 1961, 1:83, 89, 323; Al-Ḥillī 1992, pp. 166, 394.

²⁸ Ibn Shahrāshūb 1959, 3:90; Al-Rāwandī 1988b, p. 174; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1958, 2:13 no. 30, quoted by Al-Majlisī 1984, 38:112 no. 47; Al-Fattāl 1966, 1:100; Al-Ṭabarī 1963, p. 153; Al-Majlisī 1984, 38:216, 93 no. 7.

²⁹ Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:103, 322; Ibn Shahrāshūb 1959, 3:252; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq no date, 2:469, no. 30; Ibn Ṭawūs 1990, p. 325; Furāt 1989, p. 245 nos. 245–330.

³⁰ For a discussion on this tradition and the Sunni and shī'ite commentary see: Friedmann, 1989, pp. 58–59; Kohlberg 1979, pp. 677–79, 678; Bar Asher 1999, p. 156.

³¹ Her full name: Asmā' bint 'Umays b. Ma'ad al-Khathmī, a woman Companion who married Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and went into exile with him to Ethiopia. After her husband was killed in the Battle of Mu'ta, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq married her, and after he died she was taken as wife by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. For more details on her see al-Tawnaḥī (2001, 22–23).

³² A Kūfan who was an associate of the sixth imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 675). He was killed by the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who accused him of atheism. For more details on him see al-Kishshī (1929, 397–398 no. 742).

³³ Al-Jazā'irī 1984, p. 313; Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1992, 1:203 no. 608; Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:102.

could pray.³⁴ The sun also returned for 'Alī in another place called al-Ṣahbā' and also in the battle of Khaybar (628 CE).³⁵

g. The appearance of Joshua with the hidden imam

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar³⁶ notes that the hidden imam, Muḥammad, will appear at the end of days in the city of Kūfa in southern Iraq and 27 figures will appear with him, including Moses and Joshua.³⁷ The aim of this tradition is to create a link between Moses and Joshua and the hidden imam who will appear at the end of days. The Shī'ites want to say here that Joshua is an important figure for the Shī'a and that he is strongly connected with the Shī'a, the imam 'Alī and the hidden imam.

Point of similarity	Joshua	'Alī
Nam	+	+
Appointed to succeed a prophet	+	+
Age of appointment to prophet's successor	+	+
Period of office as prophet's successor	+	+
Date of death: 21 Ramaḍān	+	+
Prophet's wife rebels against them	+	+
Nature cries over their deaths	+	+
Twelve tribes and twelve imams	+	+
Supporters of Joshua and 'Alī are the true believers	+	+

Table I: Points of similarity between 'Alī and Joshua

Common trait	Joshua	'Alī
Uprooting a large rock and moving it from above a spring emanating from the Garden of Eden	+	+
Same way of punishing infidels	+	+
The most knowledgeable in their times	+	+
First believers in the prophets	+	+
Turning back the sun and stopping its motion	+	+

Table II: Similar personal traits

³⁴ Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq 1992, 1:204 no. 611; Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:201.

³⁵ Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:202.

³⁶ His full name: al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī Abū 'Abd Allāh, also called Abū Muḥammad al-Ju'fī, a Kūfan *mawlā* who transmitted sayings in the name of the sixth and seventh imams (Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 799)). For details see al-Barqī 1963, 34; al-Najāshī 1986, 416 no. 112.

³⁷ Al-Mufid 1992c, 2:386; Al-Bayāḍī 1964, 1:254; Al-Ṭabarsī 1970, p. 464; Al-'Ayyāshī 1960, 2:32 no. 90; Al-Fattāl 1966, 2:266; Al-'Irbillī 1961, 2:466.

Summary

What has been said above is an attempt to point out the link between Joshua and 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib. We saw that a link and an identity can be shown between the two figures. Joshua (Jeshua) is the inheritor of Moses and the leader of the Israelites after the death of Moses. In spite of the historical gap between the figures of Joshua and 'Alī, the Shī'ites created a strong link between the two, and pointed out many similar characteristics between them: this is because the Shī'ites believe that every prophet has an inheritor, that the inheritors of the prophets had similar qualities, and that the prophets and their inheritors form a continuous chain from Adam down to 'Alī. Just as Joshua was the inheritor of Moses, so 'Alī was the inheritor of Muḥammad. Therefore similar qualities were ascribed to them, and the similarities exceeded the differences, beginning with their superior abilities and ending with inheritor personal traits. All this was aimed at showing that both Joshua and 'Alī are exceptional figures and that the doctrine of the inheritor (*waṣī*) to the prophet has existed since ancient times, before the Shī'a appeared on the stage of history, so as to give legitimacy to the doctrine of inheritance among the Shī'a, as well as legitimacy to the Shī'a themselves.

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BOOK REVIEWS

J. E. Curtis and N. Tallis, 2008, *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, xvi + Pp 203, 58 p of plates: ill. (some col.). ISBN 9780714111667 (Hardback).

No fewer than three sets of monumental gate decorations have been found at the unimposing mound of Balawat, 16 kilometers northeast of Nimrud (36° 13' 47" N; 43° 24' 11" E). The largest and most complete of these, the bronze strips illustrating episodes in the campaigns of Shalmaneser III, are familiar to all students of ancient Near Eastern art and excellent photographs of them have been available since 1915.¹ The original bronzes are on exhibit in cases in the British Museum, beside which is an impressive reconstruction of the wooden gate adorned with electrotype reproductions. The two pairs of gates that are the subject of the book reviewed here — erected at the same site a generation earlier by Ashurnasirpal II — are smaller, less well preserved, and less rich in historical detail, but nevertheless major monuments deserving to emerge from the shadow cast by Shalmaneser's work. One was excavated by Rassam in 1878 and lay forgotten in a Museum storeroom until 1956. The other, more fragmentary set, was excavated by Mallowan in brief sortis from his Nimrud excavations in 1956 and 1957. Although both sets of Ashurnasirpal gates have been on display — in the British and Mosul Museums, respectively — this is their first formal publication.

The structure of all three gates was apparently similar. They were pairs of wooden doors, each side pivoting on a single pole set into a stone door socket. The doors themselves were made of vertical planks held together by backing horizontal planks. The bronze strips were nailed across the front of the doors and around the pole to hide the fastenings of the horizontals. In each case there are eight left and right hand bands, whose sequence from top to bottom is established by small variations in size, on the assumption that the pole tapered toward the top. The wooden structure does not survive and the contextual information from the excavations is modest. Unlike the Shalmaneser gate, which has two registers of figures in each band, the Ashurnasirpal examples have only one.

John Curtis explains the drawn-out history of this publication in a Foreward. R. D. Barnett had originally planned to treat all three of the Balawat gates together, but the current editors elected to hold the cost and size of the project down by omitting the redundancy of illustrating Shalmaneser's. Barnett had put together a substantial manuscript before his death in 1986, and the late Marjorie Howard finished the superb line drawings, which are here published beside corresponding photographs of all the sculptures. There are six chapters: 1) an introduction; 2) a history of excavations at Balawat; 3) treatment of the Assurnasirpal gates discovered by

¹ L. W. King. *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, B.C. 860-825* (London: British Museum, 1915).

Rassam, which come from the courtyard of the same palace as Shalmaneser gates; 4) treatment of the pair excavated by Mallowan in the temple of Mamu; 5) a brief comparison of the two sets of Assurnasirpal gates; and 6) a survey of gate decorations from other Mesopotamian sites. These are followed by five appendices, four of which offer documentation on the various archaeological projects at Balawat, and the last, by Irving Finkel, presents the three stone inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal from the site. 102 Figures, most of which are line drawings, and 58 plates, almost entirely half-tones of excellent quality, conclude the volume.

The loss of many pieces of the Mamu temple gates in the looting of the Mosul Museum in April 2003 spurred the editors to revive the dormant manuscript. They included segments written by Barnett as introductory material, updating it where necessary with footnotes. To this they added substantially. John Curtis's chapter on the history of research at Balawat is particularly rich in new information, including both a detailed summary of all the earlier work, and his own fieldwork at the site immediately before the Gulf War. It should be noted that this overview does not neglect the Shalmaneser gates, and includes both a slight modification of the traditional arrangement of the bands and a refutation of several recent challenges to it. The discussion of the various field projects is as detailed as the surviving documentation permits, particularly on the excavations in the Mamu temple, to which many of the plates are devoted. Photographs of the Mosul Museum exhibit after looting in 2003 (Plate 39) bring the reader painfully up to date.

The core of the book is a thorough and systematic description and analysis of the two sets of Ashurnasirpal gates. Each decorated band is illustrated with a photograph and a drawing, which are on opposing pages so that they may be compared. The illustrations make sensible use of the book's format by breaking the bands in half, with sufficient overlap that the reader sees the continuity. The text give translations of the cuneiform captions and puts each scene in historical context, not just in reference to geography, but also to themes such as royal hunting.

In his Foreward, Curtis hints that time pressures worked against completing a definitive treatment, and of course there will always be a great deal we do not know about Balawat. Rassam was notorious for not taking notes, but everything he ever wrote on the subject is here. Mallowan, too, had his lapses when it came to scientific publication. The site, like many others in northern Iraq, has been pressed into service as a cemetery by more than one village in recent centuries, vastly complicating the task of all of the archaeologists who ever tried to work there, but perhaps protecting it from the most recent binge of looting. In these circumstances, one can hardly claim that any book can tell us everything about Balawat. But if anything significant harbored in the current documentation has been left out, this reviewer can't identify it. The book is a model of clarity and utility, and we are grateful to have it.

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Paul Collins, 2008, *Assyrian Palace Sculptures*. London: British Museum Press. Pp 144: col. ill., maps. ISBN: 9780714111674 (hardback); Irving Finkel and Michael Seymour, 2008, *Babylon: City of Wonders*. London: British Museum Press. Pp 96: col. Ill.; ISBN 9780714111711 (hardback); Irving Finkel and Michael Seymour, eds, 2008, *Babylon: Myth and Reality*. London: British Museum Press. Pp 238: col. ill., maps, plans. ISBN 9780714111704 (paperback).

No institution has done more to bring the archaeology of ancient Mesopotamia to the attention of the English-speaking public than the British Museum, beginning with the acquisition of C. J. Rich's collections of artifacts from Babylon and other sites in 1825. The core of its holdings are the sculptures and tablets from Assyria secured by Layard and Rassam in the 19th century, to which a later excavators have added materials broadening the geographical range and time depth. The three beautifully illustrated works reviewed here are part of the tradition of making this Mesopotamian material accessible and understandable to all. In each case, they are visually spectacular, and reward both the serious reader and the casual browser.

Assyrian Palace Sculptures offers material familiar to any student of Near Eastern art in an unfamiliar way. It is devoted exactly what its title says — stone reliefs from Assyrian royal palaces — and not the broader ground of Assyrian art in general. Collins begins with a quite detailed discussion of how the British Museum acquired its reliefs, in other words a history of 19th century excavations in Assyria. He follows this with a chapter on the origins of Assyrian palace sculpture which looks back to the Middle Assyrian period and is necessarily illustrated by materials not in the British Museum. The book then narrows its focus to a chronological treatment of the palace decorations of Assurnasirpal II (Nimrud), Tiglath-Pliser III (Nimrud, Sargon (Khorsabad), Sennacherib (Nineveh), and Assurbanipal (Nineveh). Each section presents a few pages of text, varying in length according to the extent of the actual holdings of the Museum, followed by full-page plates of selected reliefs associated with that particular king. While the text explains the context of the art and the features that are distinctive for each ruler, the photographs home in on details and small parts of the reliefs. In this way, the reader is invited to notice some of the most extraordinary aspects of the art, albeit at the expense of seeing the overall palace arrangement. It might have been helpful to have line drawings of the plans and more visual information on contexts of the reliefs, but this is a minor quibble.

Babylon: Myth and Reality was created to serve as a catalogue to the last of three sequential but differing exhibitions on Babylon in 2008-09, the previous two being in Paris and Berlin, respectively. Each exhibition was accompanied by the publication of a lavishly illustrated large-format volume, with prices corresponding to their differing lengths: The German version¹ is two volumes and 900 pages; the Louvre's² single volume, in French, is 576 pages, and the work reviewed here is 238 pages. A check on Amazon in various countries indicates that the English book is currently selling at about a quarter the price of the German, and it will doubtless reach a much wider audience than the others. The books share some articles with each other, in translation, and many photographs.

¹ Joachim Marzahn *et al.*, *Babylon - Mythos; Babylon - Wahrheit*, 2 vols. (Hirmer, 2008)

² Béatrice André-Salvini, ed. *Babylone* (Paris: Musée du Louvre/Hazan, 2008).

One of the economies of the British Museum book is to take the Neo-Babylonian city as its starting point, rather than probe deeper into the past. The Louvre, for example, could hardly mount an exhibition on Babylon without a nod to the Hammurabi Law Code stele, but here the “reality” behind the subsequent accounts, myths, and fantasies of the Bible, classical sources, and European imaginations is the archaeological site as revealed, primarily, by the excavations of Robert Koldewey from 1899-1917.

The text is divided into sections and subsections, not designated chapters as such, each containing one or more short articles. Even within these, the reader is constantly tempted into digressions, as the text is overwhelmed with illustrations whose captions, in fine print, are often intriguing essays in themselves. For example, pp. 16 is an extraordinarily clear full-page colour photograph of the famous Neo-Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* on a black background. Facing it, on page 17 is a smaller photograph on which English translations of the cuneiform notations have been superimposed on a semi-transparent mask. Three columns of text interpret the map and explain the contents of the other parts of the tablet on which it is incised. All this is within an introductory section by Julian Reade entitled “Disappearance and Rediscovery”, which outlines, among other things, the status of Babylon in the ancient world and reports of early modern visitors to the site.

The mud of Babylon has not yielded spectacular remains of sculpture to rival those found in the Neo-Assyrian capitals, but images and legends of what site harboured have had a more profound influence on subsequent human thought. The book follows major themes such as the Hanging Gardens, the Babylonian Captivity, and the Tower of Babel through textual citations and representations in art over the centuries. It is delightful to have all of the classical sources on the Hanging Gardens, for example, presented in translation, and see how various artists portrayed them, acting on this information alone. The amount of material collected on these themes is extraordinary, and the quality of the illustrations is excellent. This is a very learned, yet beautiful book.

It also offers something not covered in the earlier exhibition volumes: an illustrated account of the indignities Babylon has suffered in recent years. John Curtis, who has visited the site on several occasions and continues to serve on a UNESCO committee to safeguard Iraq’s cultural heritage, describes the ill-conceived reconstructions of Saddam, which fortunately ended before reconstructing the hanging gardens, and the destructive creation of a military base on the site by occupation forces in 2003. The authors of this kind of stupidity could have avoided a great deal of embarrassment had they had a book like this at their disposal.

Babylon: City of Wonders, is an appetizer to the feast of *Babylon: Myth and Reality*. Its 96 pages, spare text, and small format permit no depth of treatment, but they are nonetheless intriguing. All of its illustrations are found in the larger volume, but here they are sometimes cropped to focus on a telling portion of the photograph. The technique is to describe a theme in one or more paragraphs, like royal gardens, and then illustrate aspects of it with a few plates and captions on following pages. It works rather well.

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Nicholas D. Cahill (ed.), 2008, *Love for Lydia — a Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis. Report 4), Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. xvi+ Pp 249, 20 p. of plates: ill. (some col.). ISBN 9780674031951.

This well-named volume (which has no association with the novel by H.E. Bates of the same name) has been compiled in honour of Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., field director of the Sardis Expedition for over thirty years and affectionately known as “Greenie”. By what Cahill calls a “happy coincidence,” it appeared on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the expedition.

Of the thirteen studies presented, by scholars who have all been closely involved with the excavations at Sardis, only three do not focus on Sardis itself. The time span is wide: from the Archaic Lydian period to Late Antiquity. The range of topic is equally wide, but the different papers have been cleverly arranged by Cahill, not only in a chronological sequence but often with a thread of connection leading to the next paper.

The first three papers focus on the late Lydian tomb complex of Lale Tepe (Tulip Mound), near Sardis, hitherto unpublished. The first (Roosevelt) introduces the layout of the tomb and its finds, highlighting the Lydian context and the importance of the tomb for the number of resting places (four on klinai and three on floorbeds) and the preserved wall-paintings. The latter are examined more closely by Stinson in his paper on the architecture and painting of the tomb, the decoration of which was an imitation of the interior of an elite room in a wooden house, with a faux thatched roof, painted gables and a real marble door. Unique are the three naturalistic palm trees painted on the slab that concealed the rear floorbed under the unusual monolithic double kline. The stone klinai, too, were painted as though covered with zigzag-patterned cushions and rugs. There are excellent computer reconstructions of the interior. The klinai themselves are described in meticulous detail by Baughan, in the third paper. She deals with the two types of klinai represented, using Attic vase-paintings as comparanda, their construction, orientation and decoration (lotus-palmette chain, rosettes and sphinxes) and finally summarises the Lydian, Anatolian, East Greek and Phrygian elements, reflecting the cultural hybridity of Lydia in the Achaemenid period. These three papers are a triumph of scholarly collaboration. Some repetition is inevitable but is kept to a minimum.

The elite decoration of this tomb is in stark contrast to the topic of the next paper, by Ramage, titled “Make Do and Mend” in Archaic Sardis, dealing with the broken pots found in “Area 9”, a rare identification of a Lydian structure found under a Late Roman building. Ramage argues convincingly that this was a workshop for repairing pots and recycling them for further use, particularly hydria necks used for stands, an example of “Lydian frugality” in the 7th century BC. The next paper (Dusinberre) concerns Gordion, not Sardis and deals with an important cylinder seal found there, carved in the Graeco-Persian style (which she here re-names the Achaemenid hegemonic style) but with an Aramaic inscription, which translates into Iranian names. The iconography of king- worshippers facing a central element interpreted as Sun, Moon and fire altar, she argues symbolises the harmony and balance aspired to by the Achaemenid empire, so this seal, in relatively less-important Gordion, is nevertheless associated with, and perhaps promotes, the imperial heartland.

Ornament and its association with power is also the subject of the next paper (Umholz), although we have moved into the Hellenistic period. The boukrania and phialai used as architectural decoration in two buildings, both dedicated by powerful dynastic women, she claims functioned as “signifiers” of feminine virtue, thereby enhancing the reputation for piety of these female donors. The buildings concerned are the Rotunda on Samothrace dedicated by Arsinoe II and the Temple of Demeter at Pergamum, dedicated on behalf of Boa, mother of the Attalids, by her sons. The argument is not wholly convincing, since these religious symbols occur in male-sponsored edifices also, but the focus on the buildings is valuable and interesting.

Cahill himself is the author of the next paper: Mapping Sardis, a modest title which covers a great deal of work, both physical and scholarly. It highlights Greenewalt’s discovery that the Lydian city was not, in fact, along the banks of the Pactolus, as assumed from Herodotus, but north of the Acropolis, within the Lydian city walls, which underlay the later Roman walls. Cahill, with new maps and technology, has painstakingly traced the predominant alignments of the excavated buildings, finding the surprising result that the Roman grid layout may have only reflected an “earlier, large-scale organisation of the Lydian city.” This is a more important paper than its name suggests. It is followed by a closely-associated paper on the urban development of Hellenistic Sardis, of which little is known. Ratté reviews the historical, numismatic, epigraphic evidence and the latest research. He finds little evidence of radical rebuilding when Sardis became a Greek polis. In fact, he nominates the Theatre (Roman but on the Hellenistic site) as the only identifiable Hellenistic building within the city, the Temple of Artemis being outside the walls.

Within the next paper, Reappropriating Antiquity, Mitten and Scorziello list and discuss spolia from the Late Antique synagogue at Sardis, i.e. architectural or sculptural elements from earlier structures incorporated into the building. Some of these were highly visible to the congregation (the eagle table, the stone kantharos used as a fountain, the inscription in an unknown alphabet), suggesting a deliberate reference, others were buried, hidden or upside down. This is a fascinating paper. So, too is Rautman’s *Aura of Affluence*, reconstructing the wall-painting schema in a late Roman apsidal room, a schema of dazzling complexity and colour, mainly imitating marble and opus sectile. Extensive comparanda, with significant reference to the cenatorium in Hanghaus I at Ephesus, illuminate the discussion.

Quite near this house at Sardis, buried in a public place, a hoard of small bronze coins was found in 1982. This is the subject of Burrell’s paper, which covers not only this hoard, its value and provenance, but other hoards of low-value coins and the larger question of the role of bronze currency in the fifth century AD, when values were quoted only in terms of gold.

It is good to find next a paper written by the conservator, Kent Severson, about the long years of conservation work at the site of Sardis. The extent of this “behind the scenes” work is so often not understood by readers of the resultant publications. Severson outlines the training of students, and the wide range of the latest conservation techniques and activities: not only in the enviable new laboratory but in the field, removing large mosaics or delicate skeletons, cleaning and maintaining already-excavated monuments.

Only a slender thread binds the last paper (Adolf Loos and *Decorating Classical Architecture*) to Sardis, but its author, Fikret Yegül, who published the Bath/Gymnasium Complex in Volume 3 of the *Sardis Reports* (1986), uses the Marble Court, richly

ornamented with over twelve types of marbles and several types of columns, as one of his many wide-ranging examples of ornamented classical buildings that can raise the question of whether ornamentation is integral to classical architecture, or unnecessary, as the 19th century architect Loos, known for his stark exteriors, might claim.

Love for Lydia is beautifully illustrated, organised and impeccably edited. Common to all papers is an obvious respect and affection not only for “Greenie” but also for the landscape of Lydia. It is well named.

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S. Holst, 2008, *Verbs and War Scroll: Studies in the Hebrew Verbal System and the Qumran War Scroll*. (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 25). Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.

This work is a new contribution in the field of the verbal system in Early Hebrew, based on a dissertation submitted to the University of Copenhagen in 2004. Its specific aim is to clarify the function and interrelation of all verbal forms in the War scroll, with special emphasis on the two most common forms: the suffix conjugation verb following the consecutive *waw*, *weqatal*, and the prefix conjugation, *yiqtol*. In his analysis, the author integrates both philological and modern linguistic, especially text linguistic, approaches (alternatively, ‘discourse analysis’, and see the author’s own comments on this matter in note 72 on pp.59-60). The version of the War scroll investigated in this work is basically that of 1QM, with consideration of evidence from the findings in Cave 4 regarding damaged parts of 1QM.

Chapter 1 opens with an introduction on the problems and method of this work (pp.11-15, §1.2), followed by a discussion of the nature and background of the War scroll and its editions (pp.15-24, §1.2). From p.24 on, the discussion enters the realm of the verbal system and surveys Qumran Hebrew and its verbal system in general (pp.24-33, §1.3); it then turns to the verbal system of Early Hebrew (pp.33-77, §1.4), including all main philological and linguistic approaches, viz., tense theories (pp.34-45, §1.41), the contribution of historical philology (pp.45-50, §1.4.2), Aktionsart (pp.50-53, §1.4.3), aspect (pp.53-56, §1.4.4), mood and modality (pp.56-59, §1.4.5), and text linguistics (pp.59-76, §1.4.6).

Chapter 2 presents the research itself, i.e., the investigation of the verbal system in the War scroll. Following a short survey of distribution patterns (pp.79-81, §2.1) and discourse types in the War scroll (pp.81-82, §2.2) it accords separate treatments to the various verbal forms represented in this text, viz., *weqatal* and *yiqtol* (pp.82-100, §2.3-§2.4), *qatal* with conjunctive *waw* (p.101, §2.5, a short section indicating that this form does not exist in the text), *qatal* (pp.101-105, §2.6), *wayyiqtol* (pp.105-107, §2.7), several other uses of *yiqtol* and *weyiqtol* (107-112, §2.8.1-§2.8.4), the imperative (113-114, §2.9), the participle (pp.115-122, §2.10), and the construct and absolute infinitives (pp.122-126, §2.11). Chapter 3 compares the Biblical Hebrew verbal system according to Exodus chapters 25-30 (pp.131-140), and chapter 4 draws conclusions (pp.143-144).

In the survey of major previous approaches to the Early Hebrew verbal system in chapter 1, several important references are missing. Of Rainey's works on this topic, for example, only his 1986 and 1988 papers, alongside his important 1996 book on the Amarna Canaanite, are mentioned; missing are his later papers on the prefix and suffix conjugations (Rainey, A. F. 2003. "The *Yaqtul* Preterite in Northwest Semitic." In: Baasten, M. F. J. & van Peursen, W. Th. Eds. *Hamlet on a Hill, Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Leuven: 395-407; --. 2003. "The Suffix Conjugation Pattern in Ancient Hebrew Tense and Modal Functions." *ANES* 40: 3-42). Absent too are three works that more or less simultaneously introduced the concept of 'reference time' into the treatment of Biblical Hebrew verbal system (van der Merwe, C.H.J. 1997. "'Reference Time' in some Biblical Hebrew Temporal Expressions". *Biblica* 78: 502-24; Hatav, G. 1997. *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality, Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia; Goldfajn, T. 1998. *Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*. Oxford). This reservation notwithstanding, the bibliographic survey offered in chapter 1 is a good introduction for anyone interested in this topic.

Especially noteworthy in the main body of the research presented throughout chapter 2 is the author's consideration of text linguistics/discourse concepts in the analysis of the verbal system in the War scroll. This approach proves as important for the description of the Qumranic verbal system as it is for the Early Hebrew one. Also significant are the author's following conclusions regarding the main verbal uses in the War scroll: (1) the War scroll may display both *weqatal* and *yiqtol* forms as main-line instructional discourse verbs distinguished only by word order, with *weqatal* in initial position, and *yiqtol* in non-initial position, to introduce focus shift and for other purposes (p.87, p.90, pp.95-96); (2) hortatory discourse prefers *yiqtol* forms, which according to the context are probably modal (p.99-100); (3) the *qatal* forms in a non-initial position might be used both in instructional and hortatory discourse, more commonly the latter, to express preceding or past events (pp.101-102); (4) the participle takes part in the verbal system, especially in instructional passages, where it expresses circumstantial or concomitant information, or continues the main action (p.122); (5) alongside its regular Biblical Hebrew uses, the construct infinitive tends to function similarly to a *yiqtol* verb (p.125). Comparing the verbal system of the War scroll with that of Biblical Hebrew in chapter 3, the author concludes that they are much alike (p.140). Here the absence of a comparison with the verbal system in Late Biblical Hebrew and with other scrolls, especially regarding the use of construct infinitives as finite verbs, is somewhat felt.

As to the arrangement of the study, readers might wonder why section numbers like 2.3.2, 2.6.1 and 2.8 are absent, and why terms like 'construct infinitive' and 'absolute infinitive' in §2.11 are introduced as 'infinitive construct' and 'absolute infinitive' in reverse word order; but these are only minor editorial issues, and do not spoil the general impression of a serious attempt at a comprehensive survey of the verbal system in the War scroll and an important contribution in this field.

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